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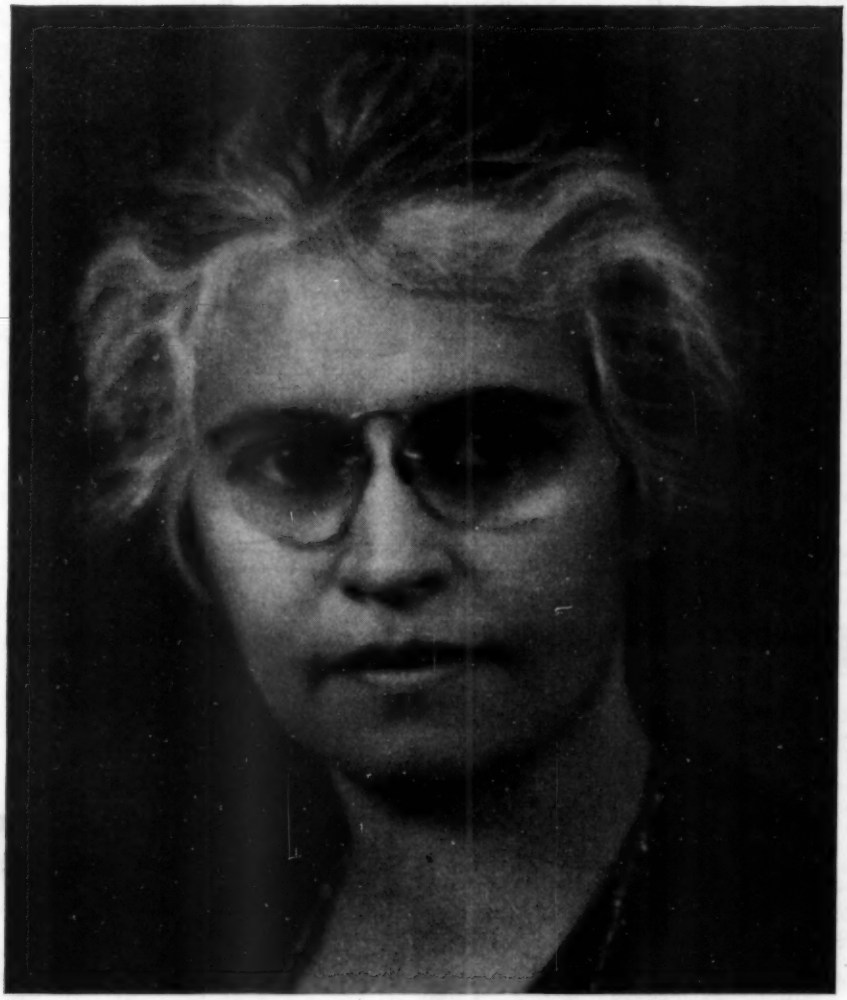

*Tuskegee Photograph Division*

**MRS. GERTRUDE ELISE AYER**

*(First N. Y. colored principal—See page 69)*

## LAST GOBBLE OF AFRICA

**BY MAKONNEN HAILE**

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**BY EDWARD P. COSTIGAN**

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1. A Nation in the Black Belt?
2. A Forty-ninth Negro State?
3. Full, Unsegregated Status as Americans?

A symposium discussion of these three proposals will be a feature of the May CRISIS, out April 22.

James S. Allen, a leading Communist writer, will outline the Communist theory of self-determination for a black belt nation in the South.

An official of the Forty-ninth State Movement in Chicago has been invited to outline its program.

George S. Schuyler will present the case for the American colored people who do not believe themselves a separate nation or want a separate state created for them.

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# The CRISIS

**69 Fifth Avenue — New York, N. Y.**

# THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

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*A Record of the Darker Races*

ROY WILKINS, Managing Editor

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*Volume 42, No. 3* *Whole No. 291*


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## NEXT MONTH

**"The Bronx Slave Market," a piece by Caroline Hall about the plight of domestic servants in New York City.**

●

**"Upon This Rock," a discussion of the power of the church in the South and its effect upon the militancy of the colored people.**

●

**"Oberlin and the Negro," by Shirley Graham.**

●

**"An Interracial Settlement House," by Thelma Rea Thurston, a sketch of Phyllis Wheatley House, Minneapolis, Minn.**

●

**Another discussion of Fascism and the Negro, critically analyzing the American Negro's position, by David H. Pierce.**

●

**In the May issue: a symposium on the way out for the Negro, see inside front cover.**

## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

**Makonnen Haile is a young Ethiopian who lives in New York City, having just been graduated from New York university.**

●

**Thyra J. Edwards is director of the Abraham Lincoln Center in Chicago.**

●

**Robert R. Taylor is manager of the Michigan Boulevard Gardens model apartments in Chicago.**

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**Edward P. Costigan is United States senator from Colorado and co-author, with Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, of the federal anti-lynching bill.**

●

**Edward Dejoie Burbridge is poetry editor of the *Louisiana Weekly*, of New Orleans.**

●

**George Edmund Haynes, Ph.D., is executive secretary of the race relations committee of the Federal Council of Churches.**

## THE COVER

**Mrs. Gertrude Elise Ayer, for several years the only colored assistant principal in the New York City schools, on February 1 assumed her duties as principal of the Public School 24. So far as is known, the only other colored principal of a mixed school with a mixed staff of teachers is Mrs. Maudelle Bousfield of Chicago. It is reported that Cambridge, Mass., had a colored woman principal in its school system who retired about 1915.**

# Last Gobble of Africa

## By Makonnen Haile

THE periodic gathering of war clouds on the Ethiopian sky, from time to time, has attracted the attention of the world. The present boundary dispute resulting in a clash between the Anglo-Ethiopian boundary commission's guard and the provocative Italian troops of Somaliland, is a prearranged trap. It is aimed to serve as a basis for accusation of Ethiopia before the eyes of the world and a justification to wage war against her. This and a number of previous accusations and attacks on Ethiopia can be well understood in the light of its relations with the bordering powers, especially Italy.

***Since this article was written, Italy has mobilized and dispatched troops to Africa over another border "incident" alleged to have occurred January 29. At the time of the writing of this note, the warlike tension has been eased by reports that boundary questions are to be arbitrated. Mr. Haile's observations give American readers an intimate glimpse of Ethiopian-Italian relations from the point of view of the ancient African kingdom***

### Ethiopia and Italy

The relation of Ethiopia with Italy has always been strained by the aggressive imperialistic designs of the latter. As early as 1885 the Italians sought to bring pressure through sheer force and diplomatic means on Ethiopia. In 1882, through the good grace of Great Britain, she secured part of Massawah, which was later curved to form Eritrea. Again in 1888 with the aid of England, Italy occupied a long strip of Somaliland facing the Indian ocean. Their enthusiasm for expansion led the Italians to conclude a treaty with Menelik, King of Ethiopia, at Wakelle, on May 2, 1889. The treaty was written in Amharic and Italian languages. After the treaty had been signed a discrepancy was found in Article 17 of the Italian text, which was phrased as to give Italy a virtual protectorate over Ethiopia. Menelik immediately called the attention of the Italian government to the discrepancy, but Italy, who had already notified European powers of its protectorate over Ethiopia, refused to discuss the matter further.

For more than five years Menelik patiently made overtures to Rome, with a view to effect the correction of this questionable article. Diplomacy not availing, war was declared in 1895. The war resulted in a complete victory for the Ethiopians in March 1, 1896. On October 26, 1896, a treaty of peace was signed between Ethiopia and Italy, in which Italy relinquished her false protectorate and recognized "the absolute independence without reserve of the Ethiopian Empire, as a sovereign and independent State."

In 1906, England, France and Italy signed a treaty in London, in which they agreed to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Ethiopia. May 16, 1908, Ethiopia and Italy signed a treaty which completed the delimitation of the boundary between Ethiopia and provided for temporary boundary between Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland, based on the movements of nomadic tribes in the region pending delimitation.

The devastating defeat inflicted by Menelik on the Italian army at Adowa, on March 1, 1896, thwarted the imperialistic tendencies of Italy toward Ethiopia. In 1911, the success of Italy in Tripoli, and in the post-war period, the accession to power of Mussolini, has reawakened Italian imperialistic ambitions.

Mussolini's policy is well known. It includes territorial expansion at the expense particularly of Ethiopia in Africa and of the Balkan states in Europe. He has consistently advocated the revision of the Versailles Treaty and has been working to expand at the expense of the small, newly-created Balkan states. This, however, was made impossible by the fact that Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria were the allies of France and later formed a union known as the "Little Entente." Thus, more and more Mussolini has turned his attention toward Ethiopia in Africa and the Near East in Asia.

### Ethiopia Joins the League

The Ethiopian government and the people watched with deep interest the organization and the growth of the League of Nations. In the later part of 1920, the personal declaration of Ras Taffari, heir to the throne and Prince-Regent of Ethiopia, "that Ethiopia must join and will join the League of Nations" was accepted by the public with enthusiastic cheers and gratitude.

When the intention of Ethiopia to join the League was made known to the nations who had designs on Ethiopian independence and territorial integrity, every means was used to arouse world public opinion and frustrate Ethiopian entrance to the League.

The application was fought tooth and nail by the Anglo-Italian representatives in the admission and armament commissions of the League. They contended that slave traffic existed, that the central government did not exercise effective control throughout the country and that it could not and would not carry out international obligations. They fought to reduce the import of arms to 500 rifles a year. M. Henry de Jouvenel, of France, reminded the Anglo-Italian representatives that if this humanitarian motive and argument was genuine, the best solution was to admit Ethiopia to the League immediately. He was supported by the Portugese delegate, M. Freire d'Andreade.

The Ethiopian fight to join the League of Nations was brought to a happy conclusion with the help of other members of the League, especially France and Portugal, who directly and indirectly encouraged and supported Ethiopia. On September 28, 1923, the whole League assembly unanimously and with great enthusiasm voted for the admission of Ethiopia to the League.

### Secret Agreement of 1925

The friendly gesture on the part of Italy and England proved short-lived. For in the following years, after attempting through all ordinary channels of diplomacy to exact detrimental concessions and to fulfill their unfinished designs in Ethiopia, they signed a secret agreement in 1925, dividing Ethiopia into what they termed "economic spheres." Moreover, they agreed to exert joint diplomatic action. England was to help Italy to secure a concession to build a railway across Ethiopia joining the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland. On the other hand, the Italian government agreed to support and assist the British government to obtain from Ethiopia "the concession to construct a barrage at Lake Tsana, together with the right to construct and maintain a motor road for the passage of stores, personnel, etc., from the frontier of the Sudan to the barrage."

Mussolini's contention that the proposed railway covering well over 1,000 miles, passing through Ethiopia and joining the two rather forlorn Italian colonies, was motivated by economic considerations was obviously false. Neither the economic nor the commercial possibilities of his colonies justify such huge expenditure. Equally one

will not hesitate to grasp the truth of the Ethiopian contention that "the construction of the proposed railway is purported and motivated not by economic, but by military considerations," to be used later "as a ladder against the Ethiopian mountains and highlands to facilitate military expedition and invasion of Ethiopia."

The British designs on the southern part of Ethiopia steadily grow in political and economic importance. The British, failing to secure a concession to build a dam at Lake Tsana, finally signed a treaty on May 15, 1902, completing the delimitation of the boundary between the Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan. In this treaty the unsuspecting Menelik, without realizing the potential effect on the future of his country, agreed "not to construct or allow to be constructed any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana, or the Sobat, which would arrest the flow of the waters into the Nile except in agreement with His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of Sudan." Ever since the signing of this treaty, although the British government had constructed dams and reservoirs in Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan, it was still attempting, until 1927, to secure the concession at Lake Tsana. In view of the fact that the dams and reservoirs constructed in Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan controlled the flow of the Nile, one might inquire why it had wanted to build another dam at Lake Tsana?

The answer is to be found in the vital importance of the Blue Nile, and that section of the country around and near Lake Tsana, from political, economic and military points of view. The British government had been confronted periodically with the demand of Egypt for absolute independence, and the constant public outburst "Egypt for Egyptians." Moreover, it had found out that the people in the Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan not only historically, economically, and religiously are attached to Egypt, but hoped for reunion with Egypt. Thus England more and more turned her attention toward Ethiopia. If this concession were granted by the Ethiopian government, the political and economic subordination of Egypt and of Sudan would be assured, as their very existence depends on the annual flow of the Blue Nile. Lately the British government, vigorously developing cotton plantations in the Sudan, has been looking forward to incorporating the rich southern section of Ethiopia, with its cotton and coffee plantations, also with its great mineral resources, with the Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan.

On the other hand the Ethiopian government, fearful of losing that section which is the nerve and center of Ethiopia, aware of the threatening repercussions and protests of the millions of Mohammedan population in Egypt and Sudan, and of the millions outside of these countries, encircling Ethiopia, who might side with their co-religionists against Ethiopia, had been careful to avoid permitting the British interests to build a dam at Lake Tsana.

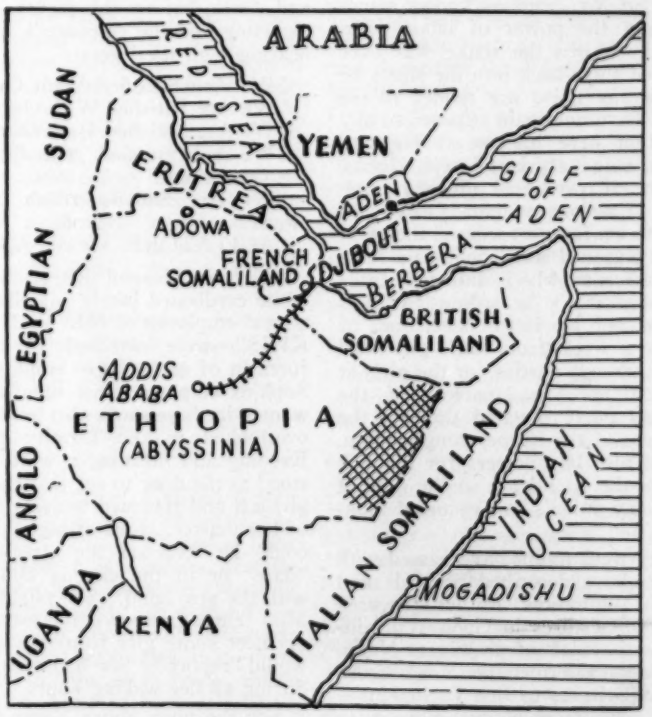
In 1915, Great Britain and France desiring to secure the aid of Italy against the Central Powers, promised Italy a share of the spoils if and when they won the war. Article 13 of this treaty which sets Italy's right to compensation after the war was as follows: "In case France and Great Britain should augment their colonial domains in Africa, at the expense of Germany, the two powers recognize in principle that Italy should claim some equitable compensation, particularly in the settlement in her favor of questions concerning the frontiers of the Italian colonies of Eritrea, Somaliland, Libia, and the neighboring colonies of France and Great Britain." In view of this fact it is possible that Great Britain, which had been unwilling, like France, to part with any part of its former possessions as well as those which it had secured from Germany, might have been attempting to compensate Italy at the expense of Ethiopia.

In June, 1926, when the secret agreement became known, the Ethiopian government appealed to the League of Nations, requesting that its protests be sent to all members. As a result the entire correspondence between Great Britain and Italy was made public, and both, as might have been expected, emphatically denied that they had any designs on the independence and territorial integrity of Ethiopia. Subsequently, France, who had been left out in the agreement, joined Ethiopia in its protest at the League of Nations. As a result, Sir Austen Chamberlain published a small addition to the treaty texts, giving notes exchanged between the British and Italian governments, emphasizing his unimpeachable fidelity to the treaty of 1906 and the League Covenant. This publication with all the correspondence of the British and Italian governments, noted, registered and sealed at Geneva closed the controversy.

**Recent Boundary Dispute**

In September, 1934, just three months before the boundary incident at Oua-

(*Continued on page* 90)




*Herald-Tribune Syndicate*

*The shaded portion of Ethiopia along the northwestern border of the Italian Somaliland is the area where recent border clashes have taken place between Italian and Ethiopian troops. Italy has proposed building a railroad from Eritrea southward through Addis-Ababa and moving eastward to Italian Somaliland. The Ethiopians have refused to grant this concession on the ground that it will provide Italy a ready road through the wild, mountainous north country into the heart of the kingdom*

# "Let Us Have More Like Mr. Sopkins"

## By Thyra J. Edwards

"Be Loyal to Your Family.
Be Loyal to Your Friends.
Be Loyal to Your Community.
Be Loyal to Your Government.
Be Loyal to Your Church.
But Most of All
BE LOYAL TO YOUR JOB!"

RESTAURANTS and shops on Chicago's South Side had their window displays heightened by these black lettered white placards when the Ben J. Sopkins Apron factories took advantage of President Roosevelt's "National Loyalty Week" to intensify the drive for corralling their Negro employees into the company's union.

Then word got abroad that a bona fide trade union organizer was in the district and that cotton goods workers, white and black, were to be organized. Most of the Sopkins employees are black. Last year they went out on strike—and stayed long enough to win their demands. So Mr. Sopkins knows something about the power of labor when organized. When the strike was over and he had them back into the shops he spared neither pains nor money to see that they were not again exposed to any organization save his own. He employed an able Assyrian, Joseph Nahas, as a sort of personnel director, and, bringing Ex-Congressman Oscar De Priest into conference, secured the services of a seasoned ward politician, Miss Jennie Lawrence, who is dubiously titled "social worker." According to Miss Lawrence, her job is to collect dues of ten cents a week from each girl with which to arrange parties for the girls at the South Side headquarters of the Republican party donated through the good offices of the former congressman. She must also buy flowers for the sick and check the attendance of the girls at the company union's parties and demonstrations.

Loyalty week might have passed with only the above described placards and the little imitation leather covered brochures "Gestures in Good Will" inclosing testimonials of prominent Negro South-Siders, aldermen, the Y. M. C. A., all bearing witness to Ben J. Sopkins—who has risen from obscure poverty to wealth on the labor of Negro women at sweat shop wages—as a sort of St. Francis of Chicago's South Side. It might all have ended with the placards and the little leatherette brochures but the International Ladies' Garment

***This article is a picture of the plight of unorganized Negro workers and of the forces seeking to keep them unorganized***

Workers Union announced its drive to organize cotton goods workers, skilled and unskilled, black and white.

### Example for New Deal

Immediately Mr. Sopkins intensified his counter-union drive. He employed Nahum D. Brascher, able publicist. Mr. Brascher also served Sam Insull whose slogan was "the best stimulus for efficient labor is a long line of men waiting at the gate for jobs." With this publicist and company union organizer, Ben Sopkins launched a campaign in the name of Loyalty that could point directions in technique to the New Deal.

More placards were printed. This time mounted on poles and thrust into the hands of Negro women employees of the Sopkins shops who paced back and forth before the plants each day picketing for the company's union and bearing high the legend:

"We Are Satisfied With Our Jobs."
"We Are Satisfied With Our Wages."
"We Are Satisfied With Our Hours."
"We Are Satisfied With Our Working Conditions."
"We Are Satisfied With Our Employer."
"AGITATORS, KEEP AWAY!"

And to supplement this, armlets—wide white cardboard bands, inscribed "I am a loyal employee of MR. BEN J. SOPKINS"—were attached to the right forearm of each Negro employee. Mr. Sopkins employs white men and white women in these shops also but they were overlooked in the Loyalty campaign. Evening and morning a white foreman stood at the door to see that each Negro girl left and returned wearing the badge of her master. Late at night these girls could be seen on the streets with a "date" or in the cinema still adorned with the arm band. She might run into Miss Jennie Lawrence, the social worker, or meet some girl from the shop who would "report." She had to "play safe" during all her waking hours.

For the noon hours Negro preachers were brought into the shops to preach to the Negro workers on their lunch period—white workers might go outside to enjoy the sunlight or puff at a cigarette. And the text was "Loyalty to Mr. Sopkins, who for 25 years has been like a father to the Negro women on the South Side letting them work in his factories on his machines." Well, so did "ole Massa" in slavery. What of it?

From day to day the campaign heightened. . . . Daily picketing at the shops by the employees for the employer. On Thursday, the Chicago *World*, five hundred copies of which are distributed each week in the shops to Sopkins employees, displayed on five of its eight pages photographs of Sopkins girls in a "city wide" beauty contest for the coronation of the "Queen of Queens." (This coronation culminated at the Eighth Regiment Armory November 2 when Sopkins girls paid twenty-five cents admission to crown Miss Jennie Lawrence "Queen of Queens.") Incidentally they are a fine looking lot of girls. But the crowning feature in the Chicago *World's* pro-Sopkinism was a three-fourth column length article headed "Sopkins, Our Last Stronghold" and ending on the note "We want more like Mr. Sopkins and less labor organizers."

And what is the meaning of all this?

### Drive for Company Unions

Since the World War when organized labor in the skilled trades made considerable gains two forces have tended to undermine labor's position. The skilled crafts were inclined to ignore the unskilled, opposing industrial unionism which would embrace all the workers in an industry and would include the hitherto unorganized unskilled workers. In this latter class the bulk of Negro labor falls.

Employers were quick to grasp the advantage of this dual rift in Labor's ranks—skilled labor opposing unskilled labor, white labor opposing Negro labor. And so with the increasingly recurrent periods of depression during the post-war years we have the birth of that peculiar and exclusively American phenomena, the company union. European workers are politically too mature ever to be taken in by the false premise that employer and employee have a common rather than a contra-interest. Company unions built up a bulwark so formidable that bona fide trade unions have been effectively excluded from American capital industry—steel and automobiles. Employers and industry have further fortified themselves with extensive welfare programs, subsidies to social

(*Continued on page* 82)

# Race Prejudice in Cuba

## A Report of the Commission on Cuban Affairs

OF the four million inhabitants of Cuba, 1,079,106 or 27% is colored. Although the great majority of the colored population are native-born Cubans, there were 79,838 Haitians and 40,471 Jamaicans in the country according to the 1931 census figures. A second racial group consists of 24,480 Chinese. Finally, the census reports the presence of 614,000 Spaniards, a number which Cuban observers regard as much exaggerated, and 13,277 Americans. Since the World War a considerable number of Central Europeans have migrated to Cuba. Thus, in 1923, 1,581 Poles, 1,139 Russians and 2,053 Italians entered the country. Many of these Europeans came to Cuba in the hope of later surreptitiously migrating to the United States, but the great majority have settled in Cuba and in some cases have contributed to its industrial development. Many of these European immigrants have been Jews. In Havana today there is a Jewish community with a synagogue, Hebrew newspapers and magazines, kosher shops and schools. So far no racial feeling of any marked extent has arisen between the Jewish colony and the Cubans proper.

The alien elements in the population of Cuba have increased more rapidly since the World War than the population as a whole. The situation is illustrated in the following table:

| *General Population* | *1919* | *1931* | *Difference* | *Per Cent Increase* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cuba as a whole..... | 2,889,004 | 3,962,344 | 1,073,340 | 37.2 |
| Colored Cubans ..... | 733,905 | 925,297 | 191,392 | 26.1 |
| Haitians ..... | 21,015 | 79,838 | 58,823 | 279.9 |
| Jamaicans ..... | 18,122 | 40,471 | 22,349 | 123.3 |
| Spanish ..... | 404,074 | 613,970 | 209,896 | 51.9 |
| Chinese ..... | 10,300 | 24,480 | 14,180 | 137.7 |

The striking fact about this table is that although the Cubans of color increased less rapidly than the population as a whole, the alien elements, particularly the Haitian, Jamaican and Chinese elements, increased much more rapidly. These increases indicate the existence of a racial problem in Cuba. Before discussing the condition of the Cuban people proper which will be the subject of later chapters, we shall consider this racial question.

### Racial Elements

When discovered by Columbus, Cuba was inhabited by Indian peoples, chief of which were the *Ciboneyes* and *Tainan Arawaks*. These Indians offered little resistance to the Spanish conquistador. Reduced to slavery, the Cuban Indian population was exterminated by the middle of the sixteenth century. Unlike other Latin-American countries, Cuba does not have a mestizo population based on a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood, nor does it have a large unassimilated Indian population, like Guatemala and Mexico. While this fact has deprived Cuba of the native arts which characterize the life of other Latin-American nations, it may have freed the island from the acute social problems found in countries which have attempted to blend the Indian and Spanish culture.

***Cuba has been painted lately in some American Negro quarters as being a land of equal opportunity for Negroes, with a minimum of race prejudices. This article, with the permission of the Foreign Policy Association, is a portion of one chapter of its new book, "Problems of the New Cuba"***

History, however, has bequeathed to Cuba an important Negro problem. Following the destruction of the Indian population, the government of Spain authorized a limited importation of Negro slaves from Africa into Cuba in 1517. As a result of a slave monopoly, represented by successive *asientos*, only about 60,000 slaves were imported into Cuba before 1763. Following the British occupation of Havana, restrictions on this commerce were gradually removed in response to the demand for labor caused by improved economic conditions. It is estimated that, until the abolition of the slave trade, more than a million Africans were carried to Cuba. It was this Negro population which provided most of the labor in the development of the sugar industry.

Beginning with 1814 England induced Spain to sign a series of treaties providing to abolish the slave traffic in return for a payment by England which, in an agreement of 1817, was fixed at 400,000 pounds. Instead of enforcing these agreements, Spanish officials in Cuba speculated in the contraband slave traffic. Following a slave insurrection, the Spanish government enacted a law in 1845 suppressing the slave trade, but this law only partially stopped the illicit traffic.

It was the Cuban revolutionists in the Ten Years War who took the initiative in abolishing slavery. In 1869 the Cuban revolutionary assembly at Guáimaro provided for the abolition of such slavery on condition that compensation be granted to the owner. Following the restoration of peace, Spain likewise abolished slavery in a law of February 3, 1880. The law declared that for a period of ten years the slaves should continue under a state of serfdom or *patronato*. The patrons had the right to use the labor of the Negro during this period, but in return were obliged to feed, clothe and compensate the Negroes, and educate their children. In 1886 the *patronato* system was abolished, and thereafter the Negro slaves became legally free.

As a result of the importation of Negro slaves, and to a certain extent of the natural increase, the colored population of Cuba in 1817 and 1841 exceeded in number the white population. Confronted with the example of the slave insurrection in Haiti, many white Cubans as well as North Americans opposed the idea of a Cuban republic fearing that it would be dominated by blacks.

Statistics, however, show that the proportion of colored to white population has steadily declined to the point where today it constitutes only 27% of the total. The assimilation between the Negro and the white has proceeded so rapidly that this figure cannot be regarded as wholly accurate. The number of mulatoes has steadily increased, while that of pure Negroes has steadily declined. Many mulattoes now pass as white Cubans, and it is consequently difficult for the census to make accurate distinctions. Some Cuban observers believe that not more than half of the total population is pure white.

### Mulattoes Will Increase

The presence of a large body of Negroes, whose roots go back to Africa, inevitably has left a mark on the life of Cuba. These Negroes have continued

to perform the manual labor to which they had become accustomed under slavery. In the towns they are found in domestic service, in the ports many of them work as stevedores, in the sugar country Negroes cut a large part of the sugar cane. The colored element in the population has introduced a psychology and mode of life common to Negroes in other parts of the world. Still retaining many of the customs of an African background, which in a new environment have lost their meaning, a considerable part of the Negroes have not been completely assimilated into Cuban culture. As a result, a psychological conflict has come into existence, aggravated by the misery in which many Negroes live. In the days of slavery many Negroes in Cuba practiced fetishism, and today numerous *nanigo* secret societies and other animistic cults may be found in Cuba. Occupying the bottom of the social scale, and with little opportunity for social or economic advancement, the Negroes provide numerous recruits for the Cuban underworld. According to the 1932 statistics, a racial group containing 27% of the population was responsible for about 50% of the serious crime. Negroes have been the object of particular solicitude on the part of the Communists, and some of them took the lead in the radical strikes which swept across Cuba in 1933–34. Although among all the lower classes of Cuba "free unions" or common-law marriages are common, the percentage of Negroes who live under extra-legal matrimonial bonds is much greater than that of whites. According to the 1932 statistics, there were only 1720 colored marriages in comparison with 10,356 white. On the other hand there were nearly as many illegitimate births reported among the Negroes as among the whites, although the Negroes constitute less than a third of the population. Pointing to these characteristics, a number of white Cubans are inclined to regard the Negro as mentally and morally inferior. It is not difficult, however, to explain these manifestations on economic, social and cultural grounds. The solution for the defects which have appeared to a greater extent in Negro than in white life must be sought not in a policy of repression but in improvement of the social and economic environment. The Negro population of Cuba has not yet been assimilated into the dominant group.

These negative aspects of the Cuban Negro have been offset to a certain extent at least by the contributions which he has made to Cuban culture. Afro-Cuban music and dance have become internationally famous. Perhaps the leading musicians in Cuban history have been Negroes—Brindis de Sala, Jose White and Jose M. Jiminez, while one of its leading poets was the mulatto, Placida. The Cuban colored population may eventually assist in the development of an art which will be as distinctive as Indian art in Mexico.

It is impossible to predict the future relationship of whites and Negroes in Cuba, but the following forecast may be made with a fair degree of certainty.

1. The more ambitious and intelligent elements of the population will continue to concentrate in the larger cities, particularly Havana.

2. The independent farming and grazing operations, large and small will be concentrated in great part in the hands of whites. The Negroes will tend to concentrate in those areas where farming operations are carried out on a large scale.

3. So long as the general sanitary conditions of the interior remain unchanged the Negro will hold his own with the whites, as he is more resistant to malaria and the intestinal parasitism, and thrives in a rural tropical environment. The Negro will lose ground in the cities.

4. If the sanitary conditions of the interior can be made even to approximate those of Havana, it seems probable that the whites on the island will increase in numbers by natural means (excess of births over deaths) at a great rate than the Negroes.

5. The mulatto will continue to increase in numbers at the expense of the Negro proper.

**Race Prejudice**

During the revolutions of 1868 and 1895 the white Cubans and Negroes were drawn closely together against Spain. In the latter revolution several leading Cuban generals were mulattoes, notably Antonio Maceo, and possibly a majority of the ordinary troops in the revolution were colored. The interracial fraternity which then existed was illustrated by the saying of Ignacio Agramonte concerning his mulatto servant, Ramón Agüero—"This is my brother." On numerous occasions Jose Marti declared that the fear entertained against the Negro race in Cuba was unjustified. "The Negro as such," he declared, "is neither inferior nor superior to any other man. . . ." Because of this historic association and the general Latin attitude toward interracial relations, the racial prejudice in Cuba has not been nearly so acute as in Anglo-Saxon countries. It seems true, however, that it has increased during the past few years. This is attributed partly to the unconscious influence of the American point of view and partly to economic distress. When an economic system is unable to provide adequately for the wants of every class in the population, the dominant group inevitably employs the racial argument to maintain its economic position at the expense of lesser colored groups.

Negroes, however, are freely admitted to the schools and university. Out of a total of 426,708 students, 105,586 or 24.6% are colored, which is slightly less than the proportion which the Negroes bear to the total population. Large numbers of colored persons attend the normal schools—in Havana they constitute 80% of the total. Nevertheless, according to official figures, the number of colored teachers is only 1,181 out of a total of 7,417, or less than 19 per cent —a number which probably is underestimated. At the same time, many Negro teachers have difficulty in being placed, partly because of lack of political influence. Although there are no legal discriminations against Negroes, custom decrees that in many parks and plazas the Negroes shall occupy a section apart from the whites. White and black students mix in the class rooms of the University, but hold their social functions apart. Colored people are not admitted to white clubs or *quintas*. At times they have been prohibited from bathing at certain public beaches, although such prohibition is illegal.

**Less Progress Than U. S. A.**

There are few Negro doctors, lawyers or intellectuals of standing in Cuba, nor are there many successful Negro business men. A recent statement of the *Comité por Los Derechos del Negro* declares: "There are industries where they cannot work; in commerce, in the great foreign enterprises, above all, Negroes are not employed. In certain industries they work where the pay is least: for example, in the graphic arts they may be compositors, but seldom linotypists; in the tobacco industry they are cigar-makers and strippers, but not sorters or trimmers who are the employees that earn the best wages." There is no adequate evidence to show whether this is due to lack of opportunity or aptitude.

Before the abolition of slavery, a number of slave revolts took place in Cuba. In 1907 an Independent Party of Color was organized, which supposedly started the 1912 revolution in which 3,000 Negroes lost their lives. At the initiative of a Cuban Negro Senator, a law was passed in 1910, known after its author, as the Morua law, which prohibited the formation of political parties on racial lines; this law is apparently still in force. Negroes have nevertheless played a role, if a subordinate one, in Cuba's politics. In the western provinces they have cast their lot with the liberal party, although in Oriente they have followed the conservatives. A

(*Continued on page* 82)

# "Long John" Bryant, New Radio Rage

***Candy boy, hoofer, straight man, and now orchestra leader***

WHEN William Steven Bryant, jr. broke his trumpet about sixteen years ago in order to escape his music lessons, he thought he was through with music. Even later, playing vaudeville and stock, he dodged music, giving his energy to dancing, straight stuff and comedy.

Despite all this Willie Bryant ("Long John" to his orchestra) today is the newest darling of Harlem's dancing, music-loving public and the latest rage on the air waves. Twice a week, on Tuesdays at 5 p.m. and Thursdays at 5:45 p.m. the strains of "It's Over Because We're Through" signal to N.B.C. listeners the program of the tall, sleek, immaculate, wise-cracking young maestro, the only colored orchestra leader on the air who is permitted to do his own announcing.

Ask people about Willie Bryant and they'll say he's a sudden success. But they're wrong. Bryant is only 24—and half of those years have been spent in the theatre. Everything he knows he learned from the ground up. He's had sound training. He's a trouper, not a fly-by-night roman candle flare. The beginning was as a candy boy in the Grand theatre in Chicago. His first glimpse of the world was in New Orleans, La., but Chicago is really home. It wasn't long before he joined the Whitman Sisters show and worked up from chorus boy to near the top. Then a year and a half at the Alhambra theatre in New York playing stock and becoming the first of the young colored masters of ceremonies in Harlem.

"The band? Oh, the band was practically wished on me."

Bryant was tilted back in a chair, resting between shows at the Harlem Opera house.

"You see, I knew a little about music because I had studied a few years as a kid. Broke my trumpet because the lessons were too hard and the thing was heavy. Told my father something fell on it and mashed it—and did he mash me! Never thought I'd come back to band playing after the whipping that horn got me!

"Lucky Millinder was really the cause of it. He was offered another band and his old band asked me to take them over. I did. It was hard work, but the boys stuck by me and in ten months we have done pretty well—not as well as we expect to do, but fair enough. We have made a movie short, made records for Victor, and got an N.B.C. booking. All this besides our regular Savoy ballroom work and an occasional theatre engagement like this. Not bad for ten months, eh?"

*WILLIE BRYANT*

Not bad at all. If you can't see him, hear him. Twist the dial some afternoon and give ear. In New York City you might catch him late from the Savoy on a local station. But if you can both see and hear him, don't miss it.

More than any current band or leader, Willie Bryant plays, dances, clowns, talks and sings in the Negro idiom. It's hard to describe. Not just clowning and noise. Not just throbbing jungle rhythms. Not just bass viols and horns and pulsing moans. Not just tricky arrangements. All these and more. Something more that Bryant himself adds. You can laugh at Cab Calloway. You can be thrilled and lulled by the one and only Ellington. You sit spellbound by Earl Hines's rippling fingers.

But Bryant is in tune with you. You are there capering with him as he sings "Long John;" you and he both shout jubilees through "Chimes in the Chapel;" you both stomp and switch and do the Lindy hop as he plays the provocative "Nagasaki;" you make tender love with him in "Out of a Dream You Came to Me;" and with him, long legs flying, Ichabod-like, on a naughty nocturnal mission, you twist your way slyly and joyously through "Along About Midnight."

He and his music must be good. Most people come back for more, and that's the test. When he first went on the air it was for a fifteen minute period. In no time at all the fan mail opened up another fifteen minutes. Now his letters come from everywhere, some very good ones from Huey Long's empire of Louisiana. And sooner or later most people in New York get around to the Savoy. One of Willie's recent visitors was Noel Coward, the English playwright.

But whether they are sophisticates from London, or farmers from South Dakota, they say what an Indianapolis letter said: "Give us more of Willie Bryant."

Modest and comfortable as an old shoe, the young band leader does not think he's at the top. He gives his boys a lot of the credit.

"Top? No, sir, not yet. But give us time and half a chance!"

—R. W.

# Low Cost Housing In America

## By Robert R. Taylor

***No single phase of the New Deal holds more promise of benefit to the largest number of colored Americans than the slum clearance low-cost housing projects. Mr. Taylor, manager of a model apartment in Chicago, visited European housing projects last summer and makes some observations in this article***

HOUSING is one of the liveliest issues confronting America today. Slums, blighted areas, exorbitant rentals, demolition—these are familiar terms which have crept into the vocabulary of the average citizen, describing phases of one of man's fundamental problems—human shelter. Public opinion on housing in America and Europe is undergoing major revisions. An age-old philosophy is passing. New concepts are being formulated which recognize more fully the human and social factors involved in the condition of man's habitation. A new philosophy is being evolved which implies that the provision of desirable housing facilities for all citizens is a public service as essential and fundamental to the security and progress of the community as that of public education and public health. The attainment of an approved minimum standard of housing accommodations for every member of the community is a basic requisite in the achievement of a more abundant life for the average citizen.

An appallingly large proportion of the people in urban centers and rural communities live in dwellings and environments totally unfit for human habitation or decidedly below accepted minimum standards of desirable housing. The ratio of families which occupy substandard housing facilities is unknown but reliable estimates place it as high as about half of the population of the country.

There is a tremendous human, social, and economic burden placed on all the members of communities which tolerate continuing degeneration of living standards. People who reside in deteriorated and unsanitary dwellings suffer an almost insurmountable mental and physical handicap in their struggle for existence. The community is likewise denied the contribution which this large group has the inherent possibilities of making to its growth and progress. Families, who, because of their economic status, are compelled to accept inferior accommodations for the sake of cheap rents, in the long run discover that they pay a terrific toll in human misery and sustain a complete loss of aesthetic values. The social instability produced by slums is always a menace to an organized community. It is an old but true story that the largest proportion of crime, disorder, and juvenile delinquency originate in the congested and blighted districts of our urban centers. Poor housing undermines the health of its occupants. Health statistics readily reveal the devastating effect of undesirable living accommodations on the dwellers and also emphasize the contagious effect upon the community in general.

### Profits in Better Housing

It would be a distinct financial advantage to the taxpayers, who support the public agencies dealing with social problems, to invest capital for the purpose of removing the circumstances and environments which breed crime, undermine public health, and contribute to juvenile delinquency. The constant increase in appropriations of funds for agencies dealing with these social problems is a negative attack on the problem. When asked to make an investment in good housing for those now living in slums, the more reactionary and conservative citizens will immediately raise the question as to whether bad dwellings make the bad tenants, or the bad tenants make the bad dwellings. European experience supports the view that when moved into good dwellings—well maintained, and understandingly managed, there is a corresponding response on the part of slum dwellers. This was clearly emphasized in the discussions of the Baltimore Housing Conference and included in the report of that conference, issued by the National Association of Housing Officials in Chicago. Sir Raymond Unwin, technical adviser of the Greater London Regional Planning Commission, stated in a recent housing conference in Chicago that many families whose ancestors have inhabited the worst slum districts in London for three hundred years or more have been rehoused in new and attractive homes where they have become highly desirable tenants and home makers.

Since poor living standards directly create a social and economic loss to the entire community, and experience has indicated that a substantial proportion of this loss can be obviated through slum eradication, the provision of satisfactory housing accommodations for all of the citizens is of urgent public interest. Today many European nations, particularly England, Holland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, recognize housing as a public service. Private capital proceeding upon an ordinary commercial basis cannot afford to build dwellings of approved standards, including the desirable social amenities, and rent them at rates within the means of the lower income workers—hence, the housing problem. Therefore, the provision of adequate housing facilities for those income groups whose housing accommodations are not provided for adequately by private enterprise should be a recognized Governmental function.*

It was the writer's privilege to observe

(*Continued on page* 86)

*Michigan Boulevard Gardens Apartments in Chicago, erected by Julius Rosenwald*

# "Open and Boastful Anarchy"

## By Edward P. Costigan

***The Senator from Colorado, co-author of the federal anti-lynching bill, spoke January 6 in New York, in support of it to a large mass meeting in Broadway Tabernacle***

MAY I say to you how deeply I have been touched by the opening invocation, the heart-moving song, and the preceding eloquent addresses? Meetings such as this sending a wave of strong emotion and conviction to the halls of Congress, are certain to assure, if they come in nation-wide fashion, the early passage of the bill we are here to discuss. May I also express to you my regret that my colleague, Senator Wagner, is not here to share this experience? Senator Wagner from the beginning has cooperated with the fine humanity and forceful devotion to fundamental rights which have distinguished his legislative services. I could not, of course, proceed without paying tribute to the constant fidelity with which he has supported the legislation of which we are joint sponsors.

Last night I was reading with profound interest for the first time in many years, an address delivered in Cooper Institute in this city, just seventy-five years ago next month by no less a person than Abraham Lincoln. On the edge of the Civil War, with the dark shadows of slavery covering America, Lincoln came from his western prairies to speak here on the subject of the relation of federal authority in America to the slavery issue. Seventy-five years ago! And he was appealing in that address, delivered to a distinguished audience, for justification of a freer and nobler America, to what the fathers of this country had done and thought upon that subject another seventy-five years before he spoke. He noted that George Washington had signed a bill providing for freedom in the Northwest Territory; and he drew attention to the fact that many of the fathers had, as federal legislators, voted to prohibit slavery in that extensive region. A short time earlier Lincoln had been speaking in Kansas, where a great struggle was on over the right of Kansas to control slavery and maintain freedom within the boundaries of the state then being erected. Lincoln there said, among other things, that he realized fully it was not the province of the federal government to rectify all wrongs in America; but he added that in his judgment it was the duty of the federal government to redress wrongs of a national character; and he declared slavery nationally injurious. He pointed out that Congress is clothed with responsibility to promote the general welfare, and that the subject he was then presenting in New York City and other states was concerned with that far-reaching duty.

### Lynching a National Evil

It seems appropriate, in the light of that history, and of what succeeded, and of the prospect that, seventy-five years from now when most of us will no longer be here, other issues grown from the same roots of injustice of man to man will have been settled, that we should meet in New York City to discuss a bill to prevent lynching. No word of Lincoln's subordinating the slavery issue to national well-being is less applicable to the collective defiance of society known as lynching. It is also eminently fitting that we should meet in this eastern metropolitan gateway of our western civilization, on a day devoted to religion, in a religious temple, to discuss this new crisis, because there is hardly any menace more critical or undermining to our religion or our civilization than the crime of lynching.

The bill with which Senator Wagner and I are identified represents the best thought over a considerable number of years of many citizens and constitutional lawyers on what may best be immediately done by Congress to check lynching practices in the United States. The very moderation of the proposed measure invites nation-wide support. Its terms are concise and explicit. It defines a mob. It provides that if officers of any state, or its sub-division, fail in diligence in their duty to protect persons in their custody against mob injury or death, they are to be subject on conviction to the penalty of a fine not exceeding $5,000 or imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both. It provides that if there be connivance on the part of such peace officers, to injure or kill human beings, those who connive at such appalling results shall be subject to imprisonment of not less than five nor more than twenty-five years. The bill declares that if a state or subdivision of a state fails to prosecute persons accused of crime, allowing a brief time for indictment following the lynching, there shall arise the presumption that the state has failed to extend the equal protection of the laws provided for in the constitution, and resort is to be had to the federal courts. It is further provided that if any person under such circumstances shall be injured or slain in one or more counties, the legal representatives of the deceased, or of the injured, shall be entitled to a judgment of from $2,000 to $10,000, from the county, or counties, in which the injuries or death occurred.

The provisions of the bill are, of course, intended to compel the attention of those charged with orderly government in states and communities to their federal as well as their state responsibilities to prevent crime, and to bring pressure of individual and community interest, by increased taxpayers' liabilities, to the side of the accused, whose legal and constitutional rights are jeopardized by the threat of irresponsible mob action.

### Open and Boastful Anarchy

I need not say to you that when we are talking of crime in the United States

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### "They Went About Their Business"

(*Business was good!*)

*By* Edward Dejoie Burbridge

(Lest we forget the World Premiere of America's 1935 Lynching Follies, which opened auspiciously in Franklinton, La., January 11, 1935, when Jerome Wilson's soul was blasted from his body by eight cowardly whites.)

A MEATY NUT

(An argument for a federal anti-lynching law.)

The Shell

You can fool with your books,
And worry with "figgers",
But depression ain't hit,
The lynching of "niggers".

The Meat

Six to eight cowards,
The Franklinton jail,
Wilson's long despairing wail.

Shots ring out,
Blood paints things red,
They grab a big hammer,
And batter his head.

Death with a shudder,
Settles down,
Six to eight cowards,
Sneak back to town.

The Question

So this is America, the land of the free,
America, sweet land of liberty?
Just one thing more, not hard to see,
This could have been you, or it could have been me.

and of the proper place of the federal government in preventing it, that no federal attack on either state or interstate crime can begin to be effective unless lynching is included among major offenses. Lynching is a violation not of one but of many constitutional rights. It is open and boastful anarchy. The individual is seized and imprisoned by a lawless mob. He is taken, ordinarily, from the custody of peace officers, with their active or passive sanction. Accusation is conviction. All rights of fair hearing and trial are brutally and summarily denied. The victim is frequently transported from state to state. Usually by torture, which permits no alternative, he is driven in utter misery to meaningless self-indictment. And, finally, he is put to death, often with the community of young and old looking on, under crime-breeding circumstances of indescribable savagery.

It would be well for us often to trace the history of our liberties. It was seven hundred and twenty years ago, to be exact, that English barons met on the plains of Runnymede and drew from King John his reluctant signature to the Great Charter, now frequently spoken of as the corner or keystone of Anglo-Saxon liberties. Incorporated in that document was the provision that no freeman—and, thank God, there are only free men and free women in present-day America—shall be seized or imprisoned without the judgment of his peers or the law of the land. And in one form or another that basic constitutional declaration has come down to us through succeeding ages, as part of all written safeguards of the liberties of English-speaking peoples. We find it in the old English Petition of Right, the English Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus Act, the written expositions of the Common Law; and, of course, in the Declaration of Independence and the American Bill of Rights attached to our federal and state constitution.

And yet the question is disputed whether so simple and humane an enactment should be approved at the coming session of Congress. How incredible! It is to be regretted that our time this afternoon has not permitted Mr. White to review some impressive recent facts demonstrating the extreme urgency of such legislation. I shall not try to supply that omission. Time permits me only to say that if there are reservations in the minds of any of you with respect to the necessity of such a statute and the ability of peace officers to control local mobs, one or two recitals ought to be helpful. A year ago when our previous similar bill was pending before Congress, month after month went by without a single lynching in the United States, but as soon as Congress adjourned without enacting the statute, lynchings were renewed in the United States and proceeded for a considerable time at the rate of approximately one a week. A senator from Louisiana, in the last days of the session, when the subject came before the Senate, said, in substance, this:. "We of Louisiana have learned how to deal with this issue. We have not had a lynching in Louisiana in years and it is not necessary for the federal government to invade this field." Yet hardly had Congress adjourned without enacting the pending proposal before two lynchings in succession were added to the record of the state of Louisiana.

*HILDA JONES*

Miss Jones is shown holding her design for printing silk which won first award of $75 in a contest conducted by the International Silk Guild among more than 200 students of three high schools in New York City. The design is a floral pattern in soft reds and greens and Miss Jones says she got her idea from the leaves of mustard greens. She is nineteen years old and a student of the Girls' Commercial high school. Doris Johnson, another colored student, won two honorable mentions in a contest for design for weaving silk

**ITALY vs. ETHIOPIA**

If you missed the historical article by J. A. Rogers in the February Crisis, with its pictures of Emperor Haile Selassie I and the royal family of Ethiopia, there are copies available at The Crisis office, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. Fifteen cents each.

**Cannot Be Left to States**

Those who have brought their minds and hearts to bear on this vital subject, including the speakers who have persuasively addressed us today, fully realize that the hour has passed when we may longer leave this evil, which disgraces us at home and abroad, to the cold mercy of states where prejudice, in the form of real or simulated rage, may at any moment light an indiscriminate torch and demand victims, guilty or innocent.

Fortunately, we now have in the White House a leader who realizes the essential importance of this test of our worthiness, a student of history, at once far-sighted and humane. He knows the disastrous and enduring consequences which ensue from wanton invitations to men, women and children of all ages, whether normal or abnormal, to witness and participate in mob brutalities. He has followed the path of at least two of his famous predecessors. Three-quarters of a century ago Abraham Lincoln denounced lynching as dangerous in example and shocking to humanity." During the World War President Wilson called upon the governors of all states, the peace officers of all communities and all forward-looking citizens who revere America to join in wiping out "this disgraceful evil." He added that lynching cannot possibly continue without community toleration. And about a year ago, following the lynching of two youths at San Jose, California, when the nation was shocked and resentfully indignant over the endorsement by the then Governor of that state of mob ruthlessness, President Roosevelt unreservedly denounced lynching as "collective murder" and declared: "We do not excuse those in high or low places who condone lynch law." And at least twice since then, the last time at the opening of the recent Crime Conference, the President departed from a prepared address and unstintedly denounced lynching. It should follow, therefore, that this is a promising hour in which to arouse the controlling judgment of the nation to urge on the attention of the nation's representatives in Washington the enactment of a well-considered and constructive federal law. Surely, you who are here, in alliance with right-thinking friends in every part of the country, will not fail to respond by supporting this educational, civilized, ethical and spiritual forward movement for a wiser and more serviceable America.

# Snatched From Mississippi Gallows

THREE Mississippi cotton field workers who probably never heard of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are alive today with a fighting chance for freedom because of the existence of the N.A.A.C.P.

Ed Brown, Henry Shields and Yank Ellington were to have been hanged February 8 for murder, but on February 2, thanks to the intervention of the N.A.A.C.P., they were granted a stay of execution by Governor Sennett Conner until February 21 in order to allow the Mississippi supreme court to rule on a suggestion of error filed by lawyers engaged by the association. If this is denied the lawyers will appeal immediately to the United States supreme court, automatically winning another stay.

Basis for the intervention of the association was furnished by Judge W. A. Anderson of the state supreme court who refused to join his associates in affirming the death sentence of the lower court, and who wrote a strong dissenting opinion saying the only evidence against the men had been secured by torture and that the defendants had not had a fair trial.

### Savage Drama

Behind these cold legal pronouncements has moved a savage drama of death in the cruel, isolated back country of dark Mississippi.

Last spring a court in DeKalb, Miss., convicted Brown, Shields and Ellington on a charge of murdering Raymond Stewart, a white farmer, and sentenced them to be hanged May 11, 1934. One of the lawyers appointed by the court to defend them happened to be John A. Clark, who did not shirk the task. Following the conviction Mr. Clark appealed to the Mississippi supreme court, getting an automatic stay. All this action took place without the assistance of any organization, or, indeed, of any colored people in or near Kemper county.

Meridian, Miss., is only forty miles south of DeKalb, but the colored people of Meridian kept silent. The story of what Judge Anderson describes as "brutal whippings and beatings" failed to stir them to action.

At this stage Mr. Clark appealed to the N.A.A.C.P. for money to aid in the appeal. He stated all his work had been done without any fee, since the defendants and their families had no money. The national office, having practically no legal defense funds, sent a small check last July as a contribution and awaited the decision of the supreme court. Late in December the court affirmed the death sentences and set February 8 for the execution. It was then that the N.A.A.C.P., on a second appeal from Mr. Clark, stepped in and pledged itself to raise money to carry the appeal to the United States supreme court. The whole story came to light and was reviewed tersely, but dramatically, in Judge Anderson's dissenting opinion.

Stewart, the white man, was found slain, evidently with an axe, on March 30, 1934. Brown, Shields and Ellington were indicted for the murder on April 4 and tried and convicted in one day—April 6—the second day after the indictment.

There was not one bit of evidence to connect any of the men with the crime. The authorities used bloodhounds, but they could find no clue. Shields was the first one arrested because he had had a fight with the dead white man some months before. Then the authorities claimed to have found a bloody axe and clothing in Shields's house, but these were never produced. No one has seen them. Shields was beaten unmercifully, according to testimony at the trial, "so badly whipped and beaten that he was unable to sit down." He is said to have implicated Brown and Ellington and they in turn were "urged" to confess after seeing Shields in his bloody and beaten condition.

### "Pincers, Rack and Hose"

Concluding his review of the case, Judge Anderson states:

"In some quarters there appears to be very little regard for that provision of the bill of rights guaranteeing persons charged with crime from being forced to give evidence against themselves (Section 26 of the Constitution). The pincers, the rack, the hose, the third degree, or their equivalent, are still in use."

Further, in the course of his opinion, Judge Anderson said:

"Leaving out the confessions, the evidence was wholly insufficient to sustain the conviction. The evidence showed without any substantial conflict that the appellants were driven to confess their guilt by the most brutal and unmerciful whippings and beatings at the hands of persons who doubtless thought they were guilty.

"Wipe out these confessions and the court would have been forced to direct a verdict of not guilty. The court had staring it in the face this incompetent testimony without which there could be no conviction."

From other sources of information the N.A.A.C.P. learns that according to the best traditions of the third degree, all three of the prisoners were beaten and kept in separate cells. Their "confessions" were secured and dovetailed. Then a group of "leading citizens" was called in to witness the "free and voluntary" confessions of the three men.

### Opening Wedge in Mississippi

That, briefly, is the situation facing the N.A.A.C.P. in this case. Three men, off in rural Mississippi, poor and unknown, with not a friend, not even a church or a minister ready to come to their aid. Victims of what appears by all accounts to be a vicious frame-up and cruel torture, they cling to life only because in far-away New York an organization existed to aid in just such cases. Mississippi is the one state that so far has been unorganized by the association. Her colored citizens seem afraid to lift their voices or pool their money to fight for themselves. All around Mississippi, in Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas there are branches of the N.A.A.C.P. and they dare to step forward and fight.

For this reason the association is appealing to the country for funds for the defense of Shields, Brown and Ellington. It seems certain that their case will have to go to the United States supreme court, and that move costs money. The association appeals to individual Mississippians to send money directly to 69 Fifth avenue, New York if they feel they cannot afford to raise a fund locally. The importance of these cases lies in the fact that they will open the way for greater efforts for other workers who are constantly denied justice. With a few white men like Judge Anderson and a few Negroes with backbones, it ought not be long before Mississippi becomes accustomed to Negroes contending for their own rights. This case is an opening wedge into the Mississippi situation.

### NEXT MONTH

Miss Caroline Hall writes the first of two articles on the plight of domestic servants: "The Bronx Slave Market." In the April CRISIS, out March 22.

# Editorials

### *Social Security —for White Folk*

IT must be apparent by now to anyone who has taken the time to study it that the Roosevelt administration's Wagner-Lewis social security bill is far from being the legislation it should be. Even if all its faults so far as the Negro is concerned be eliminated, it is still imperfect and well-nigh impossible of administration.

As for the Negro, it guarantees him precisely nothing. As originally drawn, it had no provisions guarding against discrimination in its administration. It provides for administration of old age pensions and jobless insurance by the states. Furthermore, before the federal law can operate, the states must adopt it. Picture the plight of the Negro aged and jobless in the "black belt" states! If any Pollyanna optimist remains among Negroes after nearly two years of the New Deal, let him review the treatment of Negroes by the AAA, PWA, TVA, and NRA. No allotment checks from AAA; no minimum wages (and few jobs) from PWA; no new mode of life from TVA; and differential wage scales and wholesale discharge from NRA. What basis is there for hope that the Wagner-Lewis bill would be administered any better?

But that is not the final blow. Just as Mr. Roosevelt threw the Negro textile workers to the wolves in order to get the Cotton Textile code adopted in July 1933, by exempting them from its provisions, so he and his advisers are preparing to dump overboard the majority of Negro workers in this security legislation program by exempting from pensions and job insurance *all farmers, domestics and casual labor.*

That means that *more than two millions* of Negroes out of the five millions who under ordinary conditions would be gainfully employed, will get exactly nothing from the widely heralded social security act. It may be a bitter pill for trusting Negroes to swallow (including optimistic Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell) but they ought to realize by now that the powers-that-be in the Roosevelt administration have nothing for them.

### *A School Principal in New York City*

THERE is more to the elevation of Mrs. Gertrude Elise Ayer to the post of principal of Public School 24 in New York than appears on the surface. Behind it is the story of years of hard work and steady achievement on merit, according to all the rules and examinations of the department of education. Mrs. Ayer deserves congratulations and so does the school system which permitted her to do pioneering work.

It seems to us that the conditions under which colored New Yorkers achieve distinction have been overlooked or minimized. When a Wesley Williams rises steadily to become a fire captain, or a Samuel Battle becomes a police lieutenant or a Gertrude Ayer becomes a public school principal, it means they have succeeded on merit, in the keenest competition, in the most competitive and impersonal city in America. In many quarters the New York Negro is thoughtlessly criticized for his seeming lack of fighting qualities. It is true that he does not make much noise. He saves his energy for the persistence, diplomacy, constant study, and meticulous attention to duty required by the rigidly competitive fields in which he works. By Mrs. Ayer's promotion, New York adds to the evidence that it is the chief city offering opportunity to all with least restriction based on race, creed or color.

### *Beware A Federalized Police Force*

COLORED people ought to join other discriminating groups in this country in opposition to a federalized police force. There is much talk in the air of "co-ordinating federal, state, and local police," of creating an American "Scotland Yard" and of other schemes, all of whose chief distinguishing mark is federalized control.

It may seem inconsistent for colored people, who for years have been agitating for federal direction of this and that activity, to range themselves against federal police. The chief cause for the Negro's prayer for federal relief in education and other matters has been his certain knowledge that relief was not forthcoming from the state and local units, indeed, that discrimination, persecution and slow strangulation would be his lot. That knowledge is the basis of the present agitation for a federal anti-lynching law. That knowledge, also was the basis of the hope with which he hailed the NRA, the PWA, and the AAA. He really believed the Roosevelt administration in Washington was going to tell Marse Dinwiddie in Macon county, Alabama, that plantation workers must be treated better and must be given allotments for plowing under cotton. He really thought the Home Owners' Loan Corporation was going to step in where the Yazoo City loan companies had turned him down. He believed (until Governor Talmadge of Georgia set him straight) that PWA offices in Washington were going to see that he got his thirty cents an hour; and he thought southern manufacturers and business men were going to bow to the Blue Eagle.

Disillusionment dances in the flames from his sickly cabin fire and laughs at him from the glib lips of relief workers. Uncle Sam waved no magic wand over Dixie and his fuzzy beard struck no awe to the hearts of the local landlords.

How much worse this situation could be with a federalized police force backed by a series of federal laws riding roughshod over state statutes! Then no Negro could find asylum by leaping state lines no matter how innocent he might be. A Marianna, Fla. could reach to a Saginaw, Mich. and haul back a helpless black man merely "on supposition." The federal police would be all-powerful.

This idea of a federal police force is made to order for Fascism. What better way to squelch opposition and silence protest? What better way to consolidate the position of those who won the top?

There is danger and injustice and cruelty in local enforcement, but they are as a finger scratch compared to the beheadings of a federal system. For the time being, strategy compels the Negro to be a sort of opportunist, whether he likes it or not. This proposition of adhering wholesale to an iron-clad program is a dream that will not materialize with him any more than it has with any other minority, not excepting the Jews. He must seek a federal anti-lynching bill, because that seems the quickest route to better local enforcement, the most salutary method of educating local public opinion to do its duty. He must put pressure behind the crumbling New Deal panaceas because he needs every inch he can win. They, too, as badly enforced as they are, are means to spurring local authorities, of their own will, to better local conditions.

But throughout all this the Negro must remember that as a minority, all extraordinary situations excepted, he has greater power and influence locally than he ever can hope to have nationally. He must be on his guard against any tendency to concentrate power permanently in Washington, and particularly must he fight a federalized police force.

# Editorials

***News Items for Negro Americans***

SENATOR WARREN K. BARBOUR of New Jersey has introduced a bill directing the Secretary of State not to enter into any reciprocal trade agreements with any nation engaging in religious or racial persecution.

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho is considerably exercised over the plight of the Catholics in Mexico and wants the government of the United States to intervene and tell the government of Mexico how it ought to treat them.

For the record let it be said that Senator Barbour is against lynching, the crudest and most cruel form of American racial persecution, and has pledged in writing to vote for the Costigan-Wagner federal anti-lynching bill. Senator Borah is against lynching, but is "not sure" about the Costigan-Wagner bill. It seems he cannot make up his fine constitutional-lawyer mind as to whether it would be right for the government of the United States to go into a state and tell that state that it ought not hang and burn American citizens.

***Something to Crow About***

CURRENTLY the American wing of the Communist party is making much to-do over the election of a Negro to the Moscow city council. In a land where color is supposed to be no barrier, that accomplishment is small potatoes, indeed. Something to crow about is the election in North Carolina, where color *is* a barrier, of two Negroes as justices of the peace on a Democratic ticket—with hundreds of votes being cast by white North Carolinians.

***More Intelligence Test Results***

CONTINUING his excellent previous experiments, Dr. Otto Klineberg of the department of psychology at Columbia university, has finished a study of the effect of environment on the intelligence of Negro school children. Dr. Klineberg examined the records of 3,000 boys and girls in Harlem schools as well as those in a number of southern cities.

According to his findings, the equalizing of the environments of Negroes and whites would wipe out completely "the so-called inferiority" of Negro intelligence. It is his opinion that the intelligence of the Negro improves in direct proportion to his environment. He found a group of 10-year-old Negro girls in New York with an intelligence quotient of 98.5, almost the exact norm for white children.

For decades the Negro has been struggling with the false "scientific tests" which "proved" him mentally inferior to whites. There is scarcely a forum discussion on the race problem that does not turn up eventually the question of the mental inferiority of Negroes. It is almost as inevitable as the old question of inter-marriage. Dr. Klineberg, whose findings are shortly to be published in book form by Columbia university, has performed a valuable service to sociology and psychology as well as to the harrassed Negro American. Not the least of the benefits should be to the South, for far-sighted southern communities can now, if they will, make available to themselves and to the mutual progress of both races, the talents of their black neighbors which lie submerged, not because of inherent inability, but because of wretched environments and inadequate and antiquated school facilities.

***Value of Federal Action in Lynching***

ANYONE who doubts, as does the Tampa *Tribune*, that the threat of federal legislation against lynching has any effect on communities faced with possible lynchings needs only to read the news from Cleveland, Miss., where a colored man was convicted two weeks ago of murder and mutilation. There, according to the Associated Press, the most elaborate safeguards against lynching ever seen in the history of Mississippi were taken. These included something new under the sun, a "lynch-proof" train, transporting the prisoner, plus 700 troops armed with rifles, machine guns and tear gas, all barricaded behind barbed-wire entanglements. Those who don't know Mississippi might think she did all this to preserve law and order and administer justice. But those who recall that the state holds the all-time lynching record with 582 victims know that only the threat of federal intervention caused the Cleveland phenomenon.

***It Can Be Done***

EVIDENCE is coming to light that whites and blacks of the so-called working class groups are discovering that they can get farther and move more quickly upon their objectives if they work together upon common problems. Perhaps the most significant labor news of 1934 was the union of white and black miners in the Birmingham area during the strike there. There was no jim crow; all miners were mixed in the same unions and all worked on the picket lines together. Both black and white miners were shot and beaten by company men or state guards.

Now comes the Ward H. Rodgers case in Arkansas which opens wide, for the first time, the whole plantation system of robbery and oppression throughout the South. The Rodgers case presents the clear cut issue of whether white and black tenant farmers are going to be allowed to organize for their own betterment—together. It is only by organizing together, of course, that they will get anywhere. For the first time, also, in the Rodgers case, we have the United States government actively on the ground with an investigator to see what is going on and to make a study of the plantation system. That report on Arkansas conditions will have been made to Washington by the time this editorial appears and it ought to be an interesting document, indeed.

THE CRISIS has maintained that first overtures toward unity of white and black workers must be made by the whites. They are the ones whose actions in the past have disillusioned the Negroes who were ready for unity. Recent activity has proved that unity can become a fact and it is to be hoped that it will spread, aided by discerning whites and blacks, until American labor will have a new day.

***No Snap***

WHILE it is true that Ethiopia cannot match the airplanes, tanks and gas bombs of Italy, Il Duce and his supreme council will find the conquest—or even penetration—of the ancient African kingdom no snap. There are few highways and only one railroad in Ethiopia. It is one thing to fly bombing planes over a country and another to push an army of occupation through treacherous mountain passages and across deserts. Deadly guerilla warfare awaits the nation which challenges the Ethiopian emperor and his chieftains. The last gobble of Africa is likely to be a bloody swallow, indeed.

# Cuba

(*Continued from page 74*)

number of Machado's worst deeds were attributed to Negro henchmen, but it is probable that they were no more numerous than those for which whites were responsible. Occasionally Negroes have been elected to the Cuban Congress, and recently a prominent Negro journalist was a member of the Council of State. Few Negroes, however, have occupied positions in the administrative service of the government or in the judiciary. Altogether, while the Negro population of Cuba has been assimilated to a much greater extent than that in the United States, Negroes have made much less social and cultural progress. Although colored people have numerous social clubs, there is only one Negro fraternal aid society in Cuba, the Unión Fraternal, containing about a thousand members, who in return for weekly dues of twenty-five cents receive sick and burial benefits. Many Negroes also belong to the Cuban branch of the Odd Fellows lodge. Until recently at least, most of the leading Cuban Negroes have upheld the goal of complete assimilation; but during recent years a new element has arisen which takes pride in the fact of being a Negro. Thus the *Organización Celular Asteria* upholds Negro in contrast to Cuban culture, and demands that Negroes be given 50 per cent of public positions, such as school teaching. The Negro movement has become so influential that leading Havana newspapers now contain sections devoted to Negro news. Nevertheless, there is no national organization of colored persons, such as exists in the United States whose object is to work for the general social and economic advance of the race and to prevent racial discrimination.

Following the downfall of Machado, fear of a Negro uprising again took hold of certain sections of the Cuban population. Having suffered perhaps even more severely than the whites in the recent depression, many Negroes naturally attempted to improve their economic position at a time when a wave of revolutionary sentiment swept the island. Negroes were among the leaders in seizing sugar properties and making exorbitant demands on mill managers. Moreover, following the revolt of the sergeants, the percentage of Negro officers and enlisted men in the Cuban army greatly increased. Although detailed statistics are not available, some estimates declare that today 35 per cent of the enlisted men are Negroes. The social legislation of the Grau régime, combined with the policy of deporting Haitian Negroes, undoubtedly benefited the Cuban colored population. The Grau administration also appointed a number of Negroes to public office, including the first Negro judge. During the post-Machado period some Cuban Negroes attempted to abolish social discrimination. In January, 1934, Negroes in Trinidad entered the section of the central park reserved by custom to the whites, declaring that there was nothing in the Cuban Constitution to justify segregation. As a result of this incident, rioting occurred, one Negro being killed.

### Intra-racial Color Line

These efforts of the Negro in the post-Machado period, which often took an extreme form, alarmed many conservative Cubans. In the past the politicians among the leading parties have been able to control the Negro vote by means of petty bribery and other inducements. But as a result of the unrest which has penetrated Cuban life, it is probable that the Cuban Negroes will be susceptible to new forms of political propaganda, and that with the growth of intelligent self-interest they will support movements which promise to improve their social and economic condition.

While racial prejudice against the Negro exists in certain white circles, this prejudice is not due to any inherent trait in the white race. The Cuban Negro exhibits a similar antipathy to the Haitian and Jamaican, whose standard of living and cultural level are considered lower than those of the Cuban colored class. Many Cuban Negro leaders sympathize with the deportation of Haitians inaugurated by the Grau régime. Racial prejudice also seems to exist between Negroes and mulattoes. For example, in Santiago de Cuba each group has its social club, from which members of the other group are excluded.

Among Communists the idea of an autonomous Negro state in Oriente Province is being discussed as a solution. But clearly this idea is fantastic. Cuba will solve its racial problem by keeping schools open to Negro children, increasing educational facilities to children not in school, and working out an economic and social system in which Negroes, equally with whites, will have an opportunity to earn a livelihood and to build a civilization.

# Sopkins

(*Continued from page 72*)

agencies, to churches and to community centres.

Now that the threatened collapse of our economic order has stimulated labor toward industrial unionization which must include unskilled Negro labor, we find the Negro, through misguided leadership still clinging to the frayed skirts of the employer. "Let us have more like Mr. Sopkins—." While Mr. Sopkins, tongue in cheek, conferring with his colleagues down in Chicago's loop, admits that unionization is inevitable.

"But," he adds, "when it comes I shall merely clear my shop of Negro help and employ an all white crew."

Not because Negroes are inefficient—for in twenty years they have made Ben Sopkins very wealthy. But because they are unorganized and have no bargaining power.

The recent Chicago *Defender* case is a brilliant example of the power of organized workers and the importance of collective bargaining power as protection. A Negro woman employed there for sixteen years claims to have been discharged on an hour's notice. Belonging to no workers' organization—the Negro employees of the Chicago *Defender* are not organized—she had no recourse. But when the Chicago *Defender* recently discharged its highly organized linotypists replacing them with unorganized Negro operators at lower wage rates the employer learned very quickly that the employee has certain rights on his job that may not be jeopardized at the whim or convenience of the employer—provided the employee is organized and has collective power.

Mr. Sopkins is merely a symbol, not of black and white conflicts but of employers whose objective is reduced costs of production at the expense of the employee. The women in Sopkins' shops represent the great uninformed mass of unskilled labor caught between the nether stones of unscrupulous employers and uninformed and unscrupulous race leadership.

And what is to be the end of all this? Either the Negro worker must organize, casting his strength and taking his chances with the forces of labor or, when organized labor has become strongly entrenched throughout industry the Negro will be shunted by the employer on the one hand and, on the other hand will have no moral claim on organized labor.

### Maternity Safety Campaign

A nation-wide campaign to make maternity safe has been planned by the Maternity Center Association, 1 East 57th Street, New York City. The climax of the effort will be timed for the week previous to Mother's Day, which falls this year on May 12. Mrs. Shepard Krech, president of the Association, has sent out a widespread call for the cooperation of churches, women's clubs, civic and educational institutions, offering without charge to supply groups with suggestions for local programs to improve maternity care.

# From the Press of the Nation

## *Editorial of the Month*

**Mt. Vernon, Ga., Montgomery *Monitor***

THE Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill is a much needed piece of legislation. It provides that the counties shall be held financially liable for mob violence, within their borders. Organizations with a membership aggregating forty-two million people are requesting the President to put this measure on his "must" program. The lynching evil has become such a menace that the citizenry feels it is high time some steps should be taken to effect a remedy. A recent report stated that "while the bill was pending in Congress last year lynchings stopped completely, but when it became apparent that Congress would not act they broke forth with renewed frequency."

Another Negro was lynched in Louisiana the other day, his body was riddled with bullets and his head mashed in with a hammer. . . and American Democracy marches complacently along. We discuss world peace, old age assistance and the establishment of a more stable economic order. And to finish it all off we solemnly celebrate throughout the Christmas season the birth of Christ and at Easter time His resurrection.

In other words, it would appear that we are totally blind to the fact that this profound Western culture is about as close to the bush and barbarity as any so-called civilization has been in a long time. We scoff at the Easterner for what we term his antiquated ways and point with pride to the wonderful mechanization of the West. Then when one Eastern nation plumbs the shallowness of our objective and seeks to entrench itself against what has always been the ultimate outcome of our great beneficence, we cry "War Lords," "Imperialism."—Boston *Chronicle*.

Negro leaders everywhere have protested vehemently the wage differential as established by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. They declare, and rightly so, that the lowering of the wage scale is effective only in the South, and that it was made particularly for this section of the country, where most of the labor is done by Negroes. They condemn the action of the Administration on the grounds that the Negro has always been paid a starvation wage for back-breaking labor, and that any hope of a chance for raised standards of living under the first NRA and ERA set-up has been now snatched away. These leaders have a right to condemn the ruling. They must continue to declare themselves and their disapproval in no uncertain terms, and work in every way possible to bring about a change.—Louisiana *Weekly*.

Within the past two years much has been heard about the share-croppers. Of all the laboring class, these share-croppers fare the least favorably. The condition has become unbearable and many of the share-croppers formed organizations to protect themselves. The land owners are objecting to these organizations. To give their objection force, they are claiming that the members or those who are leading in the organizations are Communists. More recently another phase is being developed especially in Arkansas. The government has allotted certain sums to land owners for the share-croppers. It is reported that many owners have failed to deal justly with the croppers. The government has been apprised of this situation, resulting in some investigation. A young white man in the employ of one of the welfare groups found out the condition and became incensed. He was outspoken. It has resulted in his arrest and a charge of being an "Anarchist." No doubt his arrest may bring before the public in a forceful way the injustices inflicted upon these share-croppers. Would that this may be so, but more especially the extending of some influence over the land owners to treat the share-croppers in a more favorable manner.—Savannah *Tribune*.

The white race makes its Kingdom in this world. The black race expects to find its in the next. The former evidently have fullest faith in the adage: "A bird in hand is worth two in the bush."—Cincinnati *Union*.

It has just been announced that twenty-five dollars has been contributed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the defense fund of Ward H. Rodgers (white), who has been convicted in Arkansas on a charge of anarchy, fined five hundred dollars and sentenced to six months in jail.

In helping Rodgers, an official of the association said, "This case offered a vantage point of attack against the treatment of Negro share-croppers in the South." We think that this was the proper course for the N.A.A.C.P. to take in the matter in view of the circumstances surrounding the case. The victory in the suit means freedom for one white man and freedom for a thousand Negroes, yes, many thousand Negroes, in their effort to improve their conditions on the farm.—St. Louis, Mo., *Argus*.

Representative Arthur W. Mitchell shows poor sportsmanship in his repeated personal attacks upon his unsuccessful rival in the recent congressional elections.

During the campaign Mr. DePriest was severely criticised for making speeches all over the country instead of remaining in Washington attending to his duties. Judging from the announced speaking itinerary of Mr. Mitchell, he shows no improvement in this respect.

No one has any objection to Mr. Mitchell representing all of the people of his district and of America, but this same speaking itinerary does not indicate that he is being accepted by any white audiences as their representative in Congress, his engagements being limited entirely to Negro audiences.

All of which is indicative of the suggestion that the baby congressman either has a very poor press agent or that he has been so blinded and befuddled by the glamour of his responsible position that he has lost his balance.—Richmond *Planet*.

Colored folks will divide just like other folks. But their divisions hurt them more than other people, because they divide too much and stay divided too long, and they become divided over too many little trivial matters. Then when something big and important comes along they are busy nursing their grievances and scheming and plotting against each other. And the result as a rule is the big and important thing gets away from them. Two many of us are like the dog on the hay stack—can't eat the hay and won't get out of the way so the cows can eat it.—*The Plaindealer*, Kansas City, Kansas.

**"MARCHING ALONG TOGETHER" (Popular National Recovery "Pep" Song)**

# Lily-White Social Security

## By George Edmund Haynes

***From this sketch it becomes clear that unless new clauses are inserted in the economic security bill now pending in Congress, Negro Americans stand to gain little from the legislation***

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, in stating the principles for his social security program, said, "except in old age insurance, actual management should be left to the states subject to the standards by the federal government." The Economic Security bill now before congress is the first measure designed to carry out parts of this social security program. Its purpose is to alleviate the hazards of old age, unemployment, illness and dependency. The main features of its administration following the principle laid down by the President is to be left to state authorities. The states are required to submit plans to be approved by the federal administrator for old age assistance, for aid to dependent children, for extension and strengthening of service for health of mothers and children. The bill also provides for allotments from the federal treasury of funds for unemployment insurance and old age annuities, and for assistance in the development of health services.

What has been the experience of Negroes under the regular services furnished by the several states with such cooperative help of federal funds, as well as under the emergency services that have been developed through legislation for recovery? In seeking facts to answer this question our attention should not be confined wholly to the southern states although the most serious situations have arisen there where more than three-fourths of the Negro population still resides. Some of the complaints that have arisen during the recovery administration have come from border and northern states.

Under the Smith-Hughes act, federal appropriations for vocational education and the training of teachers are appropriated to the several states on the condition that each dollar of federal money is to be matched by the state, the local community or both. The basis of allotments of federal funds to each state is, for agriculture, the proportion the state rural population bears to the total rural population of the nation; for trades, home economics and industries, the proportion the urban population bears to the total urban population; and for teacher-training, the proportion which the total population of the state bears to the total population of the nation. Under the Smith-Lever act which provides for agricultural and home demonstration work the basis of allotment of federal funds is the proportion the rural population of the state bears to the total rural population of the nation. A fair test, therefore, of the justice with which these funds have been spent in several states where Negroes form a large percentage of the population is to compare the percentage of funds which have been spent for Negroes with the percentage the Negroes comprised of the rural, the urban, and the total populations of those states.

On this basis of comparison if we examine the share Negroes received of the vocational funds and the teacher-training funds for the fiscal year 1931–32 and the percentage of Negroes in the rural population, the urban population and the total population in 1930, we find that only one of the sixteen states for which figures are available spent the proportion of the vocational funds equitably on the basis of the proportion of Negroes. In several of the states the gap between the percentages was wide.

### Clauses Aid Equality

The seriousness and extent of the handicap of this unfair discrimination of Negroes may be seen from a typical expenditure of funds for cooperative extension work from sources for the fiscal year 1931–32. The grand total of such funds expended by seventeen states that year was $9,339,610. Of this $4,558,449 came from Federal sources and $4,799,111 from state sources. The total amount spent for Negroes was $77,995. On the basis of the proportion of Negroes in the rural population of those states, however, they should have received $2,293,532.

In contrast with the decided discrimination shown under the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes acts evidence shows that where there are provisions in the organic law against discrimination on account of race the funds have been fairly and equitably distributed between the races even in states where there are separate educational facilities. This is clear from what has happened in the administration of the Morrill-Nelson funds created by acts of congress July 2, 1862, as amended to prevent discrimination, August 30, 1890. This amendment provides that no money shall be paid out to any state or territory for the support or maintenance of a college where a distinction is made in the admission of students on account of race or color; the amendment allows allotments to separate colleges for white and Negro students "if the funds received be equitably divided" according to specifications set forth in the amendment. To illustrate, typical expenditures for the year ending June 30, 1934, in those states having separate land-grant colleges show that the distribution of these funds was equitable in proportion that the two races formed of the total population of the respective states. Florida spent about an equal amount for Negro and white land-grant colleges although the Negro population formed less than one-third of the total population and South Carolina spent the same amount for the Negroes as for whites although the Negroes were a little less than half of the population. None of these states, however, gave similar distribution of funds drawn from state sources.

This bill has also a serious general defect as it relates to Negroes because practically all domestic and personal servants are excluded from unemployment insurance provisions since the bill applies only to employers with four or more employees. Also it is proposed to exempt farmers from the plans, thus eliminating Negro tenant farmers, most of whom are no better off than hired laborers. Thus about three-fifths of all Negroes gainfully employed will not be benefited at all by the bill.

Furthermore, even where administration is not left to the states there is danger of discrimination on account of race or color unless there is provision in the organic law. There is considerable data showing discrimination in public works where contracts have been left to private contractors by the Federal government. For example, in investigations in the labor camps of the Mississippi Flood Control operations show conclusive evidence of abuses and exploitation of Negro workers, in long hours, low wages, over-charging for supplies through a commissary system, unsanitary, over-crowded living conditions, and in some instances actual physical violence. Investigations and repeated complaints about the exclusion

of Negroes from employment on the Boulder Dam project in Colorado disclosed the fact that the contracts as made so bound the Federal government that the contractor could continue his exclusion of Negroes to such an extent that an official of the Department of the Interior admitted that the government could not intervene "as long as the contractor complied with all the laws and provisions of its contract." Had there been such a non-discrimination clause in the law providing for the Boulder Dam project the contractor would have had to conform.

**Protective Clauses Needed**

These facts make clear that where such provisions have been put into the organic law they have been effective in preventing discrimination; and that where they are lacking, unfair, inequitable distribution of funds and other benefits have been widespread and continuously practiced in at least eighteen states. The conclusion is sound that there should be specific provisions under several of the titles of the Economic Security Bill to prevent discrimination on account of race or color against persons otherwise eligible.

Facts to prove beyond a reasonable doubt the need for non-discrimination clauses in the Economic Security Bill were presented to both the House ways and means committee and the Senate finance committee by the writer to urge, that under Title I dealing with old age; under Title II dealing with allotments for dependent children; under Titles III and IV dealing with unemployment insurance and old age annuities; under Title VII having to do with maternal and child health; and under Title VIII providing for allotments to local and public health programs, there should be some clause or clauses which will require as a part of any plan submitted by a state for approval of the federal administrator, provisions against discrimination on account of race or color. This legislation is so vital to Negro men, women and children and to peaceable race relations that every lover of fair play should see that his congressmen and senators support provisions in the bill against racial discrimination.

# Housing

(*Continued from page 76*)

much of the housing work of several of the European countries last summer and to converse with many of the leaders and administrators of the programs in these countries. Millions of families have been moved from the most deteriorated and congested districts of large European cities to modern dwellings, surrounded by ample open spaces where there are trees, flowers, and grass.

Governmental housing agencies enjoy the benefit of public credit, public powers of land purchase, and are able to spread amortization of capital over a long period. Permanent and large-scale ownership and management eliminate a certain amount of the risk involved in the erection of a housing project, which completely justifies a low amortization rate. Thus, the number of families who can afford to meet the rent for minimum standard dwellings without making any call on Government subsidy is greatly increased; and the problem of providing for those who cannot afford even this lower rent becomes less acute. To meet the needs of the very lowest income groups, European governments have found it necessary to grant direct subsidies which have taken a variety of forms and which have been equivalent to reductions in construction costs of from thirty to forty per cent. European experience has confirmed the fact that it is of fundamental importance to divorce, as far as possible, political influence from the administration of a carefully planned housing program.

**Five Million Need New Homes**

Five million American families are urgently in need of decent dwellings today. The blighted areas and slum districts which now house these families, particularly in our large urban centers, are an eyesore and disgrace to an enlightened and progressive community. The extensive employment created by the erection of five million new dwellings will materially contribute to the solution of one of the most pressing problems today confronting America—unemployment and stagnant industry. Public-spirited citizens, organized civic and community groups, labor organizations, industry, and finance should rally to this challenge.

The Congress of the United States has appropriated $150,000,000 to be used for slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing. This program is being executed under the authority of the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration. Announcements have been made of the selection of sites in almost a dozen cities throughout the United States on which will be erected low-priced housing projects. In connection with the financing of these developments, the United States Government is making an outright grant of thirty per cent. The other seventy per cent of the cost of erection of these projects is to be returned to the Government out of monthly rentals. This thirty per cent subsidy will serve to reduce the rental charges to the prospective tenants. This represents the Federal Government's initial stroke at a solution of the housing problem and if successful will doubtless pave the way for an expanded housing program.

No single social venture holds promise of such immediate benefits to the Negro as that of a soundly conceived and ably administered public housing program, for no single group in America pays such a heavy toll as a result of inadequate housing facilities. Race prejudice and low wages relegate the Negro to the most undesirable districts of practically every city. Disinterested and absentee landlords permit property in which Negro tenants live to deteriorate, and the management of it is generally characterized by exploitation. In most of the cities of this country, the Negro pays a higher rental rate for poorer facilities than that of any other group. This is true because his demand for additional dwellings is constantly expanding through increase in population without a corresponding increase in the supply of facilities available to him. Inasmuch as no new dwellings are designed and erected to meet the specific needs of the income group to which he belongs, he usually depends upon the exodus of other racial groups for the property which he acquires. He is an underpaid worker, and only with difficulty can he meet the exorbitant rates charged on the unsanitary accommodations which he usually obtains.

**Will Revolutionize Negro Life**

The large-scale erection of modern dwellings of approved standards with social and community features, managed by a skilled and enlightened staff, and rented at very low rates which are made possible by subsidies, lower building costs, and other factors will ultimately revolutionize the standard of living of the Negro in the large cities of the country, considering his present deplorable plight. Such a social undertaking will assume a place comparable to that of public education in the building of good citizenship. The housing program should commend itself to the best leadership in the race. Organized groups of Negro citizens, both men and women, should rally to the support of the movement. Local housing committees should be organized in an effort to study and interpret the significance of this program. The many difficult problems inherent in this new field should constitute a challenge to well-trained men and women who may make a real contribution in the field of housing planning and management.

*Refer to "A Housing Program for the United States," issued by the Baltimore Housing Conference and published by the National Association of Housing Officials.

# Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

### Anti-lynching Bill Hearing

The subcommittee of the Senate judiciary committee held a hearing on the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill February 14 at 10:00 a. m. with Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding. Most of the record of the 1934 hearing was read into the record. H. L. Mencken, noted critic, appeared and urged the passage of the bill. Mrs. Caroline O'Day, congresswoman-at-large from New York, also urged its passage. Senators Costigan and Wagner both made statements and Walter White, the Association's secretary, brought the factual data on lynching up to date since the hearings in February, 1934.

Senators Costigan and Wagner spoke over a nation-wide network of the Columbia broadcasting system February 12 at 11:15 p. m. E.S.T. on the bill. One of the largest mass meetings in support of the legislation was held February 10 in Cleveland with Mr. White as the principal speaker under the auspices of the Cleveland branch.

### Asbury Park on Radio

Station WCAP at Asbury Park again donated thirty minutes on February 10 to the Asbury Park branch for a program touching upon the Negro. This year the branch presented a unique program in which local citizens took the parts and spoke lines of famous champions of the Negro in years past. Lorenzo Harris was master of ceremonies and other parts were as follows: John Wesley, Milton C. Kamn; Thomas Jefferson, Eugene Capibianco; John Laurens, Vincent Keuper; Philadelphia Chairman of the Abolition Society, Jerry Hartigan; William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Frankel; John Brown, Theodore Maribello; Wendell Phillips, Max Barr; Lafayette, Walter Upperman.

The continuity of the broadcast tied up the sayings of the abolitionists with present-day needs of the Negro and showed the necessity of white people today taking up the fight for justice and particularly against lynching. Mr. Upperman is the new president of the Asbury Park Branch.

### Art Exhibit

On February 15 an exhibit of paintings, sculpture, woodcuts and black-and-whites about lynching opened in New York City at the Arthur U. Newton Galleries, 11 East 57th street. It will close March 2. At the conclusion of the New York show most of the pieces with the exception of the oils may be sent on tour. Mrs. Pearl S. Buck spoke and Edward Matthews sang at the preview. The exhibit is sponsored by a committee of distinguished citizens in and out of New York and is known as "An Art Commentary on Lynching."

### Check Relief Bias

The Birmingham, Alabama, branch has special committees at work checking upon the administration of relief to colored people and investigating all manner of complaints. The branch has been instrumental in correcting a number of the evils and much of the discrimination against colored people. It recommends this activity to all branches, especially those in the South.

The Norfolk, Virginia, branch is also active in checking up on administration of relief.

### Cooperation Secured

The New Orleans branch under the leadership of James E. Gayle has been particularly successful in enlisting the cooperation of many other organizations in the city in promotion of work for the benefit of the race. Within the last month the New Orleans branch held a mass meeting against lynching in which it was assisted by sixty-two cooperating organizations. The lynching of Jerome Wilson in Franklinton, La., was reviewed, together with the history of the whole Wilson case which was being handled by the New Orleans branch. Resolutions were adopted and messages sent to Washington.

### Prisoner's Release Secured

Through the assistance of the Hempstead, New York branch, George Freeman, who has been confined in Attica prison since 1931, was released in December. Mr. Freeman was a resident of Hempstead. The branch furnished the money to pay for the transcript of the record and it showed that Mr. Freeman, through a misunderstanding of the charge against him and without the advice of a lawyer had pleaded guilty to robbery when he was in fact innocent. The complaining witness could not identify him positively and eventually a lawyer was interested in his case and he was freed.

### Pamphlets for Colleges

The national office is making a special offer to colleges to furnish the pamphlet "Sweet Land of Liberty," short history of the N.A.A.C.P., in bundles of ten or more at the low rate of two cents each. This is a part of the Association's effort to acquaint college students with its history.

Some copies of the illustrated pamphlet on the Claude Neal lynching are still available and may be purchased for five cents each.

### St. Louis Conference

The St. Louis branch which is to be host to the twenty-sixth annual conference the last week in June already has

*The cast of "Death Takes A Holiday," given recently by the Charleston, W. Va., branch. Seated, left to right, Laura Willis, Stella Minor, J. Arthur Jackson, Mamie J. Brown and Willa Smith. Standing, left to right, Juanita Nelson, "Steve" Brown, William Ross, Dr. W. D. Morris, Elbert Alston, Clyde Gilmore, William Jackson and Alice V. Diamond*

appointed a number of committees to make this a red-letter gathering in the history of the association. Branches are urged to begin now to arrange for the expenses of sending at least one delegate to St. Louis in June. Because of the central location of the city it is expected that the attendance will be heavier than any in recent years.

## Branch News

The **Savannah, Ga.,** branch assisted the Chatham County Colored Citizen's Council in staging a third annual charity ball the night of February 11. The ball celebrated the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and Fredrick Douglas. The Reverend G. E. West was named chairman of the publicity in the branch for 1935.

Miss Ida L. Jackson of Berkeley, Calif., Supreme Basileus of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority was the guest speaker at a meeting of the **Charleston, W. Va.,** branch Sunday, January 6. Special music was presented under the direction of Miss Gladys Johnson of the department of music, West Virginia College.

The **Pine Bluff, Ark.,** branch sponsored an Emancipation day mass meeting January 1 at St. John A.M.E. church. Musical numbers were rendered by the Merrill high school chorus directed by R. N. Chaney. Mrs. Nettie Hollis Johnson read the Emancipation proclamation.

An Emancipation program was held by the **Louisville, Ky.,** branch with Mrs. G. W. Hummel, chairman of the Kentucky Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching; Judge Brachey of the Louisville, Ky., police court; George F. Robinson of the municipal college faculty and Miss Maude Brown as speakers.

Gordon H. Jones, vice-president of the **Jamaica, N. Y.,** branch, addressed the Y.W.C.A. of that city January 4 on the program of the N.A.A.C.P.

Considering the tiny colored population of the city of **Duluth, Minn.,** the branch there has engaged in what is probably the most persistent and effective agitation for the Costigan-Wagner bill of any branch in the country. The Duluth branch has a goodly number of white members including many high officials of the city government. It has succeeded in getting resolutions adopted by the leading white organizations; has sponsored two radio programs supporting the bill; has secured steady publicity in the daily papers; and has secured a number of effective editorials in the daily press. The entire colored population of Duluth is less than 500.

The junior division of the **Johnstown, Pa.,** branch was launched formally January 2 with a membership of fifty-three. Mrs. Deane B. Leftwich is director and Miss Tunstill Johnson is president. The following committee chairmen were announced: forum, Lugene Johnson; education, Florence Davis; entertainment, Robert Catly; membership, Hazel Smith; publicity, Frances Banks; financial, Tunstill Johnson; music, Lincoln Sawyer. One of the activities of the forum committee of the Junior Association will be to conduct young people's services in various churches throughout the city from time to time throughout the year.

The **Dayton, O.,** branch has written to county auditor, the county prosecutor and the county treasurer, elected at the November election with the aid of a considerable number of Negro votes, asking that they appoint qualified colored people to office.

On January 27, William Pickens, field secretary of the Association, made the presentation speech in the granting of a charter to the **Newburgh, N. Y.,** branch recently organized. Mayor Chester J. Brown gave the welcome address. Twenty-five new members were added to the branch at the conclusion of the speaking. Dr. Robert Branche, president of the branch, presided. Musical numbers were rendered by Mrs. Mamie Bost and Miss Fredricka Hunter and Robert Murray. Mrs. Virginia Johnson is chairman of the membership committee. The Reverend R. M. Mitchell and the Reverend E. O. Clark were active in the formation of the branch.

The **Fayette County, Pa.,** branch has contributed $35.57 in the Penny campaign.

A total of $81.26 has been paid by the **Newark, N. J.,** branch in the Penny campaign.

Attorney Alvin Sherbine was the speaker at the January meeting of the **Johnstown, Pa.,** branch. The executive committee for the 1935 term was elected, as follows: Mrs. Ella Poole, Robert Ashville, Columbus Quarrels, Mrs. Mabel Johnson, Henry Bundy, Mrs. Deane Leftwich, Mrs. Bessie Johnson and Benjamin Cashaw.

Mrs. Deane B. Leftwich and Miss Minnie Turner were presented awards by the president for valuable service rendered during the last year. Mrs. Leftwich more than doubled the membership of the organization and Miss Turner was awarded for her services as treasurer of the group for the last seven terms.

The **New Rochelle, N. Y.,** branch has suggested that John A. Ross and Dr. Leon W. Scott serve on a proposed citizen's advisory committee to aid state education officials in making a survey in New Rochelle.

A delegation was organized to attend the trial of Patsy Tenore, 38, of 90 St. John's Place, in White Plains, Thursday morning, on statutory charges filed by the mothers of two 11-year-old Negro girls.

The **Salt Lake City, Utah,** branch, as a feature of its January meeting, heard a review of James Weldon Johnson's book "Negro Americans, What Now?" by Gail Martin.

The **Pasadena, Calif.,** branch lodged a formal protest with the board of education over the exclusion of four Negro student members of the Pasadena Junior College band from participation in the Rose Bowl festivities at the time of the Alabama-Stanford football game. The school board explained that it was opposed to segregation and that Dr. John Harbeson, principal of the Junior College, had ruled that the band could not appear New Year's Day unless it included the four Negro players. The school authorities claim that they had been apprised of the Alabama attitude only the night before the game and that care would be taken to see that discrimination did not occur in the future.

The **Monrovia, Calif.,** branch has been quite active for the past three weeks distributing literature and endeavoring to influence the public to support the anti-lynching bill. Lieutenant William W. Robinson, the president, made an appeal to a white audience, most enthusiastically for the support of the bill. The reaction of his listeners was great. Many approached him for information as to whom they should write. Mrs. Olivia Cobb, the secretary, has resigned and Mrs. D. C. Jackson has been elected in her stead.

The program committee of the **El Paso, Tex.,** branch, composed of Mesdames Vernon Collins, L. A. Mitchell, A. W. Donnell, and Juanita Hughes, is succeeding in securing the services of some very interesting speakers to continue the programs on high order.

At our regular monthly program in December Mrs. Pate Webb, president of the Jolly Sixteen Club, spoke on "Some of the accomplishments of the Branch." She promised to influence her members to become members of the N.A.A.C.P. Through her, the club donated $1 which was applied on the purchase price of reports on the Claude Neal lynching.

Mrs. M. E. Williams, president of the Phyllis Wheatley Club, appeared on the same program and discussed in an interesting manner, The New Order in Connection with the N.A.A.C.P. She also pledged to interest their members in the work of the Association. The program was had at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church of which Reverend O. B. Ware is pastor.

On January 1, 1935, at 8:00 at the Shiloh Baptist Church, we held our Emancipation exercises, celebrating the 72nd Anniversary of the Negro's freedom in the United States. The Emancipation proclamation was read by Mrs. L. W. Washington. "The Negro and Emancipation" was ably discussed by Reverend George J. Johnson who delivered the annual address. He is the pastor of Shiloh.

At the close of the program, the entertainment committee, consisting of Mesdames E. Ford, Rosa Williams, and B. C. Jovers, served refreshments to all present.

The fourth annual dance of the **New York, N. Y.,** branch will be held at Rockland Palace, Friday evening, March 15. Inquiries concerning tickets may be directed to the branch office, 224 West 135th Street.

Robert P. Watts, secretary of the **St. Louis, Mo.,** branch is writing a special article for the May issue of The Crisis telling about St. Louis as a convention city and the plans which the branch is making to insure the twenty-sixth annual conference being a memorable one.

**BRANCH NEWS**

Send the news from your branch regularly to The Crisis, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. It must reach us by the first of each month.

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# BOOK REVIEW

**THE ILLEGITIMATE FAMILY IN NEW YORK CITY, by Ruth Reed . . . Published for Welfare Council of New York City by Columbia University Press. $3.75.**

The increasing significance of illegitimacy in the social economy of New York City gave rise to the request made by social agencies constituting the Committee on the Care of the Unmarried Mother of the Welfare Council of New York City for a study on this subject. Dr. Ruth Reed's book on *The Illegitimate Family in New York City*, is the result of this request.

In order to facilitate the study of such a widespread problem in a city as large as New York the inquiry has been limited to the births out of wedlock for a selected year. The year chosen was 1930. The New York City Department of Health supplied statistics compiled from birth certificates. In addition to this, material was obtained directly from the agencies dealing with the illegitimate family and from families themselves. The hindrances in getting complete and accurate information on a subject of this kind can easily be appreciated. Records of social agencies vary in accordance with the special duties of the agency and the willingness of the client to give complete information. Added to the unavoidable inaccuracy in the case of some of the agencies is the secrecy attendant upon illegitimacy.

Despite these limitations the study is of unflagging interest to anyone who is concerned with human relations, especially as they affect parents and other children whom our social order chooses to call illegitimate. Dr. Reed's scientific study of illegitimacy lays the factual foundation upon which may be based the sympathies of those who wish to effect changes in the status of the illegitimate family.

As a back-drop against which to juxtapose the study of the illegitimate family in New York City, the author gives a tabulated account of registered illegitimate births in ten selected cities of the United States. These figures are broken down into white and Negro population. The reason for this distinction is the fact that in every one of the ten selected cities the number of Negro illegitimate births was proportionately higher than the number of white illegitimate births in the same city. Without the qualification regarding white and Negro population the picture of illegitimacy in urban centers would not be a clear one.

Dr. Reed devotes a good portion of her study to the discussion of the Negro illegitimate birth rate. This Negro rate varies from 29.4 illegitimates for every 1,000 births in Salt Lake City to 213.8 in Baltimore. An explanation of the variation between the white and Negro illegitimate birth rates lies in the environmental factors influencing the two races in different urban centers. Dr. Reed states that it is generally admitted that working and living conditions are more favorable to Negroes in communities where they form a smaller proportion of the total population than in places where their numbers are relatively larger. These more favorable economic and social conditions are reflected in a lower illegitimacy rate. Dr. Reed draws the conclusion that the Negro illegitimacy rate seems to be susceptible to the same envionmental influences as the white rate, and when these environmental factors are favorable to the Negro the proportion of registered illegitimate births is less.

Dr. Reed points out that although the Negro illegitimate birth rate is high, the consequent demoralization of family and personal life among Negroes is probably not as great as the figures, at first glance, seem to indicate. This is due to the greater desire for concealment on the part of white unmarried mothers, resulting in early separation between the mother and the child. In the case of Negroes, there seems to be a greater respect for the natural tie between mother and child. Because of this, the death rate of Negro illegitimate infants is lower than that of white illegitimate infants. In other words, the handicap of illegitimacy as measured by the infant mortality rates is less in the case of the Negro than of the white child.

The following statement by Dr. Reed summarizes her approach to this side of the general question of illegitimacy:—

> "The historical factor in the higher rate of illegitimacy among Negroes should not be overlooked. The observance of strict monogamy, so long the goal among the white population, is at best imperfectly realized at the present moment, after many centuries of effort; while for the Negro population a strictly monogamous form of family life has been possible only since the emancipation from slavery seventy years ago. It is also the case that Negroes are less likely, because of their underpriviliged position in the social and economic order, to be familiar with measures which would limit the number of births out of wedlock, and it is possible that the illegitimate birth rate of Negroes is more nearly an index of irregular relations than is the illegitimate birth rate among the white population. It cannot be assumed, therefore, until all other factors have been equalized, that the factor of race plays any important part in producing a difference in illegitimacy rates between the white and Negro population."

It is interesting to note that in view of the vast population of the city, of its sex and marriage ratios, of the complexity of the national and social groups involved, with their differing customs and attitudes, of the known problems of housing and occupation, that the illegitimacy rate of New York City is relatively lower than that of other cities in the United States. Dr. Reed states that she is at a loss to find the reason for this low rate.

This book treats the illegitimate family according to its component parts: the mother, father and child. Dr. Reed states that "The failure of some social agencies to take into consideration the existence of the unmarried father in the treatment of the illegitimate family may result in the increase of the problem with which they are dealing."

In conclusion, *The Illegitimate Family in New York City* is a book designed primarily for social workers in the field of the illegitimate family but it is full of interesting reading and valuable information for those who are concerned with the problems of those less fortunate than themselves.

GWENDOLYN BENNETT


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| I've Heard Of A City Called Heaven | .15 |
| I'm Drinking From A Fountain | .15 |
| We'll Go On And Serve The Lord | .15 |
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# Last Gobble of Africa

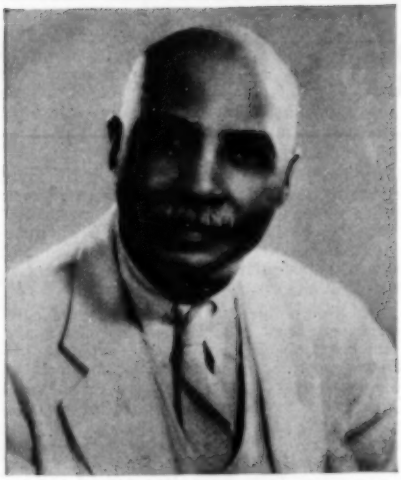
(*Continued from page 71*)

loual, Mussolini started to concentrate troops and extensive military preparations in Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland. The Italian explanation of the move was that Ethiopia was becoming too militaristic and that Japan was making economic penetration into that country. Later, after the Italian troops had perpetrated the incident at Oualoual, the Italian propagandists in their attempt to arouse public opinion in Italy not only claimed that the Ethiopians started the "flagrant provocation" but that the Ethiopian army was being trained by "numerous Japanese officers."

The contention that Japan is making an economic penetration into Ethiopia is fantastic. Or, does Fascist Italy hope, on such grounds, to check Ethiopian commercial intercourse with other nations? One of the clauses of the Treaty of 1889, which led to the War of 1896 between Ethiopia and Italy was the attempt by the latter to close all foreign trade and commercial relations of Ethiopia with the rest of the world. The contention that the Ethiopian army is trained by "numerous Japanese officers" is fallacious. With the exception of one Japanese dentist at Addis-Ababa whom a later investigation showed was sick and in hospital at the time the incident occurred, there are no other Japanese in the entire country.

The recent boundary clash was precipitated without any provocation by Italian Somali troops, stationed 60 miles within Ethiopian land. The Anglo-Ethiopian Boundary Commission, surveying pasture and grazing land, on reaching Oualoual, a village, 60 miles within Ethiopian land, was fired upon by the Italian Somali troops.

January 16, 1935, Tecle Hawariate, Abyssinian delegate, filed with the League a document presenting the case of Ethiopia. The British government which has been attempting to keep the question out of the agenda made a compromising proposal to Addis-Ababa and Rome. It was rejected by Mussolini. January 18, the publication of the document filed with the League's Secretary-General showed that every charge the Ethiopian government had previously made against Italy, of aggression in Oualoual and of bombing at Ado was incontestable. The Ethiopian contention was supported by contemporary documents signed by Colonel Clifford, British member of the Anglo-Ethiopian boundary commission, and by other members of his staff. Colonel Clifford charged the Italians of "provocation" and testified that two Italian war planes preceding the battle of Oualoual trained their machine guns on members of the commission. The British officers agreed throughout with the Ethiopians that it is on Ethiopian territory. This point was further clarified in the memorandum of the Ethiopian delegate which called attention to treaty texts and British maps. The maps invariably showed that Oualoual is 60 miles within the Abyssinian territory.



*W. C. HANDY*
*Father of the Blues*

As a result of the Franco-British pressure and the publication of the memorandum at Geneva, Italy agreed to withdraw its demands for indemnity and apologies. Furthermore, she agreed to settle the dispute "in the spirit and in accordance with the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1928." Meanwhile, both nations agreed to undertake to prevent new incidents in the disputed area. The astute M. Tecle Hawariate withdrew demand for the public hearing of the Ethiopian case.

The good intention of Mussolini, however, is still questionable, especially in view of the fact that the Italian government, at the reported clash of two nomadic tribes at the French-Somaliland and Ethiopian border, proposed to Paris one of the following measures against Ethiopia: (1) joint action at the next meeting of the League (2) joint diplomatic action at Addis-Ababa. The refusal of France to hold the Ethiopian government responsible for the incident closed a possible controversy. In fact from all indications, might not this incident have been instigated for the sole purpose of securing the cooperation of France by arousing French public opinion? Who armed and instigated these nomadic tribes to perpetrate the horrible incident at the very particular and psychological moment in the turn of the dispute between Ethiopia and Italy?

## My Country, 'Tis of Thee Sweet Land of Liberty—

**This is a picture of what happens in America—*and no other place on earth!* Here is the U. S. rope and faggot record to date:**

**Lynchings since January 1:**

**1**

●

**Lynchings during same period last year:**

**2**

●

**Total lynchings since 1882:**

**5,069**

●

**(Figures as of February 15)**

**You can help stamp out lynch law by joining the forces who are campaigning for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law by the 74th congress. Write the N.A.A.C.P. for information: 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.**

# LETTERS *from* READERS

## Catholics and the Negro

To the Editor of The Crisis: In the January issue of The Crisis there appeared an editorial which criticized Father Coughlin and the Catholic church for their alleged indifference to the real needs of the Negro. I, in all friendliness wish to object to some of the statements in that editorial.

As regards Father Coughlin, your criticism may be justified. He seems to have an unfortunate habit of telling his listeners what they want to hear, not what they ought to hear. And such a subject as the rights of Negroes might offend the Nordic sensibilities of the Coughlin admirers. There is hope that he may yet speak out on this vital matter, however.

When you attack the attitude of the church, you are wrong in assuming that the attitude of American Catholics (in general) represents the church teachings on race relations. The simple fact is that the average American Catholic has not followed the teaching of the Catholic religion which holds that all men are one in Christ. That a man cannot hurt another (unjustly) without hurting Christ.

I know that even priests of the church have been and are still (in a lessening degree) false to the church teachings but that is the fault of men, not the church. Most priests and an increasing number of laymen are with the Negro in the fight for his rights. I am not a Negro, but an Irish-American Catholic, who believes that the teachings of my church when put into practice (as they will be) will solve the Negro and every other "problem."

I take the liberty of inclosing several copies of a Catholic paper that is enjoying a steadily increasing circulation among all classes of American Catholics. With best wishes to you and your magazine,

Lawrence Delaney

Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Thanks

To the Editor of The Crisis: Having read The Crisis from cover to cover, the only way I know of expressing my admiration of it is to ask you to allow me to subscribe for the magazine for six months starting with the February issue. Inclosed please find money order for same.

I have indorsed your appeal with regard to the Wagner-Costigan bill and have asked the aid of the congressman of this district, Mr. J. T. Brooks, from whom I expect a favorable attitude.

George M. Robinson

Leetsdale, Pa.

## "Imitation of Life"

To the Editor of The Crisis:—It is most unfortunate that Negro actors and actresses have such a limited field from which to select that frequently in order to display their histrionic ability at all they are compelled to take part in a production which is disparaging to their race. Perhaps out of fairness I had better add that because of the present equivocal position which the Negro holds in Hollywood it is rarely possible for him to accept or reject a part which is offered, but in order to work must take what he is given—and be glad to get it. If the foregoing facts were not true, there would be no conceivable justification to my mind for the Misses Louise Beavers and Fredi Washington appearing in such a picture as "Imitation of Life." From beginning to end this picture is full of vicious anti-Negro propaganda. I say "vicious" because it is so insidious that it deadens the discriminatory faculties of those who see it. I have listened to the opinions of a number of Negroes and find that they consider this a fine picture. They are asleep to the fact that the effect of such a picture is much more baneful than one which doesn't pretend to be other than anti-Negro. The evil effect would be less if the fact were made clear that this story is presenting an unreal, impossible situation, that it is merely an imitation of Negro life and thought. The impression given, on the contrary, is that the attitudes and viewpoints of the characters in this play are typical. The theme presented is one which is dear to the hearts of many white people and very bitter to the thinking Negro, namely, that they are a sort of god in our eyes, that we find our greatest satisfaction in their company, that we are irresponsible children dependent upon their superior intellectual acumen for our well being, that we not only cannot think for ourselves but do not care to do so, that we as a race are still clinging to ancient superstitutions which are just beneath the surface waiting to crop out. An imitation of life, yes, but a cheap, tawdry one too, but so cleverly designed that it deceives into the belief that it is genuine.

These are not real Negroes, Delilah and Peola. They are what white people want us to be. Take for example Delilah's business dealings with Miss Bee. Wouldn't even the most complacent pre-Civil War mammy display a little more of the natural human tendency to want a share in the profits of an enterprise which she had a share in originating?

Are we such admirers of white people that we find our happiness dependent upon their presence? Would the average uneducated Negro be content to live in his quarters below stairs just so as to be near his idol? And does the presence of white people mean so much to our happiness and well being that we yearn to minister to their wants and derive great satisfaction therefrom?

Are we such admirers of white people's mode of life that we spend long evenings trying to get glimpses of them and what they're doing or eating out our hearts in bitterness because we cannot be a guest at one of their parties?

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Do we still follow the old barbaric ritualism when it comes to death? Note the group who chanted melodies outside Delilah's door as she lay dying. Do such hold-overs from savagery still persist among us?

Would any average woman be crushed and not know whither to turn when she is told that the business venture which she has helped create has succeeded, that she is now not only independent, but rich and able to maintain her own home? Would she bleat out timorously: "but you mean you don't want me no mo'? You's mah life, Miss Bee, I can't go on without you." Is just the ordinary servant class Negro so happy in serving white people that if he had a chance to stop and be independent he would continue on instead?

Are any of these things true of us? If they are then we deserve to be slaves and all the precious labor that brought us out of slavery and into a semblance of freedom has been worse than wasted. We belong back where we were before all this talk of freeing the Negro ever began. The pity of it is that great care is taken not to present this picture as an imitation of life but as the real thing. Those are real, present day, flesh and blood folks who are telling a white world, an ignorant, prejudiced white world how we think and feel, how we long to be white and admire all things white. It is telling that we are irresponsible children who need the white man's care and protection.

I suppose those of you who have been patient enough to read this article will hasten to the next playhouse in your neighborhood which presents this picture. Well and good but—if there is an infinitesimal spark of race consciousness in your being you will burn with humiliation and indignation that such an abnormality passes for truth about us as a race.

PAULINE FLORA BYRD

Kalamazoo, Mich.

## A Southern Woman Looks at New York Women

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—Has the northern American woman sold her birthright for a mess of pottage is the disturbing question now provoking the minds of her much concerned sister down in the southland.

The writer of this article was born in the South, educated in both southern and northern schools, and for several years has observed closely the native New Yorker. Unfortunately this observation has portrayed a rather ghastly, though picturesque perspective of throngs and throngs of human femininity, brown, black and yellow, beautiful and homely, witty and stupid, dainty and coarse, cultured and crude, all traveling at even gait, none attempting to soar above the others. Strange it is how the bigness of the great city influences these creatures, making them so perfectly at ease, resigned to a non-constructive, irresponsible mode of living—content to eat, sleep and live, to eke out a bare existence, to live in little worlds of their own with absolute indifference to the neighbors next door.

While this version does not literally apply to all New York women, it is deplorably true of the vast majority whose chief ambition, it appears lies in the world of festivity and amusements. Bedecked in the latest attire of the season, blushing rosily not from the wind, cold or sun, but the rouge box in their purses, they can be found at twilight on Seventh avenue. Clothes and more clothes, good times, dances, cigarettes, and cocktails. Can a woman's heart desire more?

The city and all of its intellect, art, culture and educational facilities surround the native New Yorker as do the elements above, things to be looked upon and heard about, but not absorbed. These things, her native heritage and birthright, are served to her and refused. Are they then thrown to waste? No, most emphatically no. The southern woman travels across the land and the West Indian across the waters to claim the glamour and honor cast aside by their foolish sisters. The West Indian woman has shown hungry and eager desires to take advantage of every possible opportunity for the development of herself and family. She has likewise shown capabilities to endure, and to make extreme sacrifices in sending her children to college. Their children in return do not object to the strong competition offered by whites. One has but to walk about Harlem to observe the steady stream of West Indian and Jewish business. The long line of beauty parlors on Seventh avenue were once occupied by American girls, but are now carried on for the most part by the West Indian, efficiently and profitably.

The writer had occasion during a recent summer to visit a number of free art schools and department stores that were offering free instruction in various phases of art and crafts. It was observed that very few colored women partook of these splendid opportunities for cultural development, but the few who did were West Indians. The West Indian woman further takes advantage of her opportunities at the polls while her American neighbor is busy downtown selecting bridge prizes. She casts her vote and puts over a political deal to the advantage of her group. In fact she is coming into the limelight claiming position, rank, and wealth, preparing herself and family for a well rounded constructive life that they may enjoy the fruits of the country, while her American neighbor sits complacently up in her top floor apartment supping upon her mess of pottage with utter contentment and satisfaction.

When will you arouse from your slumber to reclaim your rightful heritage, dark daughters of America?

BETTIE E. PARHAM

Raleigh, N. C.

## Improvement in Liberia

(The following letter appeared in the London *Times* and is reprinted by THE CRISIS for its important admission from British sources of improvement in Liberian conditions.)

Sir:—I have recently visited Liberia. I did not eepect, and do not claim, to have collected first-hand evidence, but I studied the situation as far as was possible by gathering many opinions, foreign as well as Liberian, by visiting Monrovia and Grand Bassa, and by going about 60 miles into the interior.

My impression was that my previous opinions about the country, based on the League of Nations documents, were not applicable to the present state of affairs. To put the matter briefly, I believe that the findings of the original League of Nations Commission, presided over by Dr. Christy, were broadly true; the only qualification I should make is that I do not think Dr. Christy realized the effect, on the evidence given, of party politics in the midst of a Presidential election campaign. On the other hand, I cannot resist the conclusion that serious efforts have been made since 1930, under President Barclay, to remove the evils established by the Commission, and that these efforts are still continuing. Some of the worst of the evils—the export of laborers to Fernando Po, and the punitive operations against the Krus—have altogether ceased. The most hostile witnesses would, I think, admit these points, while adding (it is fair to say) that they do not think they will be permanent Slavery still exists, but the Government is endeavoring to stop it; it is an indigeneous institution which, as all Colonial administrators know, is extremely difficult to eradicate.

As to the unhealthiness of Monrovia, if the truly fearful picture presented by the Experts Commission represented the truth in 1931, I can only say that an astonishing transformation has occurred. The situation is totally different today.

If the Liberian problem is to be rightly judged, it is necessary to understand the sensitiveness of the Liberian governing class, and the suspicion with which they regard their neighbours (for which the history of both boundary and finance questions gives some ground). It is only fair to remember, too, the prejudice which prevails on the West Coast, outside Liberia, and which gives rise to many stories which are a travesty of the facts. Sympathetic handling, rather than threatening, seems to me to be the need of the moment.

Some improvements have taken place. The only question is, will they last? At least Liberia should be given a chance—and a fairly prolonged chance—to show what she can do.

Yours, etc.,

CHARLES RODEN BUXTON

6, Erskine Hill, Golders Green, N. W. 11.

## About the Fraternities

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—Will you permit me to comment on your editorial on Greek Letter Societies in the February issue of THE CRISIS? Your phrase "contained in the reports" is significant. The public *is* a little disappointed when it sees the ninety per cent rushing for a good time, in the face of conditions more serious than any known since slavery. There is little question in the mind of the general public as to whether the ninety per cent or the ten per cent represents the organizations. The ten per cent would probably receive much more public recognition were they a little more able to organize and systematically follow up the good suggestions made on the yearly ad-display day.

In some of the organizations, particularly two, if information received is correct, definite headway is being made by the ten per cent. But does it not seem wise, because of the special need of the day, to make definite constructive suggestion as to need, organization, action and follow up to make good? What is preventing trained Negroes from at least making an honest effort to get together on such a program? Is it not a recognized fact that the job is too big for anv *one group?* Should one effort stop us?

Where does THE CRISIS stand on this? Huey Long is interesting, but to what extent by comparison?

H. RHETTA

St. Louis, Mo.

## Novelist Honored

Sunday, February 10, Miss Zora Neale Hurston, whose novel of last year excited country-wide comment, was the guest of honor at a party at the home of Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer, New York City. Among the guests were: Fannie Hurst, Alice Duer Miller, Dean Gildersleeve of Barnard College, Charles Sears Baldwin and Elizabeth Reynard, Pearl Buck, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Mary White Ovington, Stephen S. Wise, Robert Nathan, Edith Haggard, May Lewis, Blanche Colton Williams, Suzanne Bloch, Lucienne Bloch, Jonas Lie, Ivan Olinsky, Robert Brackman, Mr. and Mrs. Lippincott of Philadelphia, Weare Holbrook, John Erskine, Walter Pritchard Eaton and Lyman Beecher Stowe.

### When Winter Comes

*By* THEODORE ANTHONY STANFORD

Autumnal beauty flees and my hopes lie
Torpid and bloodless in the maze of things,
A new note breathes upon the singing wings
Of winter, but it is a strident call.

Madly and high the gray clouds whirl above
Amid the fitful music of the winds,
Love, in all its beauty, lies behind,
Vague as the whispered call of muted drums.

It matters not if round my broken feet
The restive vine yet flaunts a glowing leaf,
My day has been, is past, and it was meet;
And yet I found that joyous day too brief.

Tho' my impassioned dreams now madly dance
Upon the harpstrings of a questing wind,
The fond heart warms the ashes of romance
And madly sings!

What matters it if stern gods plot my fate,
Or thunder just beyond my heart's barred door?
I shall regain the loom of solitude
And weave a finer garment in the gloom
When winter comes . . .

### 15th Anniversary of Church

The Hubert Harrison Memorial Church of 149 W. 136th Street, New York City, will celebrate its 15th anniversary with a series of meetings to begin on March 3 and end on March 10. The opening meeting will be held in St. James Presbyterian Church and the closing in Abyssinian Baptist. Because the church had this year to assume a new financial responsibility it has been decided to appeal to all those who appreciate its work as a community institution to contribute to a $500 Anniversary Fund. Checks made payable to the Hubert Harrison Memorial Church may be sent to the secretary of the church, Miss Anna Edwards 53 East 130th Street, New York.

### Race Relations Proclamation

Governor Ed. C. Johnson, of Colorado, issued on January 4, an executive proclamation setting aside the week of February 3 to 10 as Race Relations Week, in the following language:

"Therefore; I, Edwin C. Johnson, Governor of the State of Colorado, believing whole-heartedly that the promotion of better understanding among the different racial groups is essential to the prosperity, peace and tranquillity of the citizens of our State, do hereby set apart the week of February third to tenth, inclusive, as race relations week for the consideration of inter-racial relations.


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